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THE AMERICAN JOURNAL OF RELIGIOUS PSYCHOLOGY AND EDUCATION

EDITED BY

G. STANLEY HALL

President of Clark University and Professor of Psychology and Education.

WITH THE CO-OPERATION OF

THÉODORE FLOURNOY, University of Geneva; JAMES H. LEUBA, Bryn Mawr College; EDWIN D. STARBUCK, State University of Iowa; R. M. WENLEY, University of Michigan, JEAN DU BUY, and others

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THE AMERICAN
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THE PSYCHOLOGY OF CHRISTIAN HYMNS.

BY CHARLES W. SUPER, ATHENS, O.

For a number of years I have given occasional attention to the psychology of Christian hymns. I have recently gone over the subject in a connected way, and have endeavored to put into a consistent whole the result of my studies. It has been a question with me whether it would not have been more interesting and more illuminating to the reader to subject the writings of a single author to a careful analysis, in order to ascertain his personal mentality. In the case of many men such a study would, however, have been lacking in the unity which we may expect to find in a volume in which the theology and the religious emotions of a single denomination have for centuries found lyric expression. It is well known that a man's religion often appears to have but slight connection with his intellect. Newton and Gladstone are typical exemplars. When they were dealing with the unvarying forces of nature or interpreting the social conditions of historic man they exhibited an almost unmatched keenness of intellectual penetration, no less than a vigor of constructive imagination that is amazing. They were capable of grappling successfully with the most abstruse problems of human experience. They possessed that peculiar insight which enabled them to penetrate into realms where no man had preceded them, and to solve problems that had been mysteries before. Newton was a mathematician of the very highest order. Gladstone was not only a constructive statesman; he was also able to illuminate some phases of man's past history to an extent that had never been done until he grappled with them. On the other hand when

either of these men deals with the transcendental problems that fall under the general head of *religion*, his mind never advances beyond the primitive theological stage. Both then stood upon a level with the average orthodox believer. Both seem to have accepted the Bible almost literally. They believed the miracles therein recorded, although they did not believe in miracles in general, and exercised a great deal of intellectual ingenuity in making them appear credible.

These men and many others like them had two minds, one of which they employed in the study of problems that come under the head of religion, the other for all other purposes. The theological mind never invaded the secular, but when the secular mind appeared in the theological arena, which was often the case, it took the peculiar hue of the region and prevented them from seeing objects in their true light. While the one mind was essentially modern and scientific, the other was thoroughly mediæval and mystical. This being the case, it seemed a far easier task to trace with fruitful results the lyric forms in which a denomination has for a long time given utterance to its religious feelings than to fathom the psyche of a single individual of the unusual type; and no other was worth examining. I have chosen the Methodist Hymnal as my subject for the reason that it is fairly representative of all Protestant Christians who profess the pedobaptist creed. Moreover, the edition of 1905 is endorsed by the bishops of both the Northern and Southern branches of the denomination, and therefore represents the consensus of the Methodist Episcopal church throughout the world. But even to make this study complete it would be necessary to go back to the earliest editions compiled or authorized by the Wesleys during their lifetime and compare them with the successive collections that have been issued up to our day. As this would also have taken up a great deal of space I have taken note only of the latest edition, comparing it now and then with the next preceding, that of 1878, in order to exhibit the changes that have come over the spirit of this denomination in somewhat less than a generation. We have here the evidence that Protestantism represents progress along certain lines in contradistinction to Roman Catholicism which clings tenaciously to the past. It is true, the creed remains literally unchanged, although its interpretation has undergone modifications in the minds of those who have given it careful thought. By such a study we are able to apprehend what we may designate as a mental stratum that is of

varying thickness and which extends through that large section of mankind, drawn together by a sort of consanguinity of temperament and to observe the poetic forms by which this temperamental consanguinity finds perennial expression and nourishment. Lyric poetry is, in general, defined as that form of verse through which the subject gives utterance to what he thinks and feels as distinguished from epic in which the poet narrates what he has learned or professes to have learned from others. No hard and fast line can, however, be drawn between the two divisions, as they constantly encroach upon each other. The nursery rhymes of Jack and Jill, or of Old Mother Hubbard are lyrical as to form, but as strictly epic as to contents as are the Iliad or Paradise Lost or Hermann and Dorothea, although each contains fewer than a score of words. Many of Wordsworth's poems, to cite no others, describe a brief episode in the life of one or more individuals; they must therefore be regarded as miniature epics. Because of the brevity of such productions their authors have eschewed a dignified kind of verse and have expressed themselves in the simplest style.

It is contended by many critics, E. A. Poe among them, that a long epic is always a series of shorter epics, either joined or strung together. The point is well taken. In all religious poetry there is more or less theology. Although the Greeks had no hard or fast system of religious belief they held a creed in which there were certain universally recognized articles. Some of their gods were believed to have a fairly well defined sphere of activity, even though they might sometimes go beyond it. This is taken for granted in the Homeric Hymns, by Pindar, by the tragic poets, and in the popular ritual. Similarly, we find in Christian hymnology certain theological beliefs expressed in verse, sometimes for the purpose of impressing them more firmly in the minds of the neophytes, sometimes as a support to religious emotions. In such hymns, or in the theological allusions which they contain, there is no subjective factor whatever. People have repeated or sung them almost from time immemorial because they are rhythmical and because they fit into a theological system. To this class belong the Gloria Patri, and the so-called doxologies.

All hymns, therefore, coming under this general class have no value as revelations of the subjective state of the author or singer. They are records of a creed renewed from time to time, but they are worth-

less as disclosures of a personal psyche. To the same class belong also those that touch upon events of biblical history, except in so far as the writer identifies his own experience with that of the men of the olden time. This has been done to a large extent in the edition of '78, which contains more than fifteen hundred references to passages in the Old and New Testament. In the edition of 1905 these references are relatively less numerous.

Charles Wesley was essentially a man of moods. No matter what the nature or occasion of these moods, he felt impelled to give them expression in lyric form. He is said to have composed about six thousand hymns. Supposing his creative faculty to have continued in working order for sixty years we get an average of about two compositions per week. There is in the very nature of the case much repetition, as the same mood would find utterance more than once in the same way and almost in the same words. Every experience that passed through his psyche took a strongly religious coloring; it therefore kept him from despair though not from despondency. It follows as a matter of necessity that the theological mind, or the theological portion of the duplex mentality spoken of above, cannot grow. As God is the same "from everlasting to everlasting," and as according to Protestant belief, he has long since completed the revelation of himself, the orthodox believer has spoken virtually the same language in every period of his life, Although his songs may vary somewhat, the refrain is always the same.

As is well known, many persons in whom the instinct of authorship is strong have found surcease of sorrow in the same way. Euripides is a classic example. Goethe often found relief through this safety-valve, while some of his countrymen were driven to madness or to suicide by the incongruity between life as they found it, and life as they imagined it should be and could be. The victim was overborne by the crushing weight of the sober reality. It is probable that Cowper was kept fairly normal by his strong religious faith. Like the Wesleys, he believed that the all-wise and all-powerful Providence was likewise all-beneficent. It was therefore only a weak faith that was unable to see in the world the mysterious workings of God. John Wesley was much more a man of action than of reflection and a great deal more optimistic than his brother. It may be said of him that he more closely resembled the typical Englishman. In hymn 579 Charles

speaks of trembling "on the brink of fate." He asks himself, whether he is born to "fly into a world unknown, a land of deepest shade?" He is tormented with the question, "What will become of me?" when I pass from earth. Shall I be damned or "numbered with the blest?" (590). It sounds strange to hear a Christian speak of "fate." For others he has less doubt. When writing of the death of a brother he refers to him as "enthroned on high," as happy in the eternal ecstasy of praise, as one who has been translated (593). In another he bids friends not to mourn for a departed brother who has successfully finished the stormy voyage of life (594). Whilst life on the whole is regarded as a time of trial, a vale of tears, a weary road, as consisting of a few lurid mornings, as an absence from God, a prison of clay, and so on, many of the hymns breathe a tone of cheerful resignation and confident hope, a desire to be with God and the saints, a firm trust in a blessed immortality and a calm repose in the promises of the Saviour. But we find an incongruity between the recognition of an ever-present God in this life, and the thought that while we are in this world we are away from him, but that death will bring us into association with him. A few of the hymns plainly teach us the doctrine of a bodily, or at least of a material, resurrection, as for example, 583 in which we are told that the ashes of the saints shall "lie, Waiting for the summons from on high." Heaven is represented as a place of rapturous enjoyment. The nations "under ground" are called upon to awake and the saints to "ascend the skies." In another hymn a brother is spoken of as "translated." In one of Watts's hymns heaven is envisaged as having a distinctly material existence. There are "sweet fields," "never-with'ring flowers," there is no night in that region and spring is "everlasting." There are "heaven-built walls," "pearly gates," "streets of shining gold," and "Sabbaths without end." No labor needs to be done in that place, there are gardens with "goodly walks," and so on. Heaven is named the New Jerusalem, which is plainly a transference into modern times of the description given by the Revelator of what he saw in an ecstatic vision. More than a score of hymns are devoted to descriptions of heaven. On the other hand only a few deal with the judgment, one of these being a part of the well known Dies iræ; this is given in two different versions, one of them being by Sir Walter Scott in the Lay of the Last Minstrel. This materialism is prominent in many selections, and

is doubtless due to the difficulty, if not impossibility, of forming a conception of a purely spiritual existence. As man has had experience only in the affairs of humanity, language has, strictly speaking, no terms for conditions in which divinity dwells. The Deity is envisaged as a man who is free from the limitations of mortality, but not otherwise different; and his abode is imaginatively depicted in the same way. We can conceive of spirit only through its effects; which is tantamount to saying that in its essence we cannot conceive it at all. This was the thought Christ had in mind when he said to Nicodemus: "The wind bloweth where it listeth." As a statement of a supposed fact in physics it was erroneous, but the sense in which it was to be understood is evident enough. That the wind blows where it pleases is true only in so far as we cannot predict with certainty in what direction it will blow at any given time in the future. The intimate relation existing between wind, breath, spirit, and the Holy Ghost is likewise evident from other passages. In John 20, 22 Christ breathes upon his disciples and says: "Receive ye the Holy Ghost." This incident is referred to in hymn 30 of the earlier edition, although it is not in the latest. As in Greek mythology, God is conceived as delighting in song, praise and prayer. "O for a thousand tongues to sing," exclaims Charles Wesley where he evidently means, a thousand voices.

In the First Book of the Iliad we are informed that "all day long they worshipped the god with music, singing the beautiful pæan, the sons of the Achaeans, making music to the Far-darter." In the Homeric Hymn to Apollo the career and exploits of the god are set forth at length, and he is conceived as delighting in song and dance. So in 500 the Saviour is besought "by his helpless infant years," his "life of want and tears," his "days of sore distress," his "sacred griefs," and so forth, to hear the solemn litany of the worshippers. According to Herodotus, when the messengers ef the Athenians appeared at the shrine of Apollo in Delphi to invoke his aid against the invader they received a very discouraging response. So they declared their intention to remain until they died unless they should obtain a more favorable answer. They had nothing to give; their sole plea was their helplessness. We have the same feelings set forth in the sentiment: "In my hands no price I bring; Simply to Thy cross I cling." In 280 the Saviour is besought for help for fourteen reasons,

or events narrated in his career in the New Testament. God and Christ are often personified as "Love Divine," as the "Incarnate Word," as the "Spirit of Holiness," and in other like terms. Whilst in 2 God is invited to come into the presence of his worshippers, in 6 they are summoned to bow before his "awful throne." In 7 the idea is the same wherein he is invited to accept the "tribute which we bring." Phrases of this kind are of frequent occurrence, although the metaphors are at times a good deal mixed. In 19 God is personified as a Fountain whence all blessings flow, but to which songs of praise are to be rendered. Farther on he is called a Mount of Redeeming Love. In 21 Christ is praised as the creator of body and soul, but also as a Lamb. In 25 God dies; the Lamb is crucified; the saint reposes on Jesus' breast. In 29 men are counseled to thank God for touches of pain, since they are reminders that perfect bliss is not to be had on earth. In many hymns there is present the thought that God delights in the homage and expressions of loyalty on the part of his subjects; but in the nature of the case this homage can be only that of heart and voice, not such homage as is manifested by tangible gifts.

Many of the selections are wholly free from dogma and are interdenominational in tone. They are purely spiritualistic or theistic and free from materialistic ingredients of any sort. In the latest edition, compared with the next preceding, Whittier's contributions are increased from two to seven; Faber's from nine to twelve; Samuel Longfellow's remain the same and only Bryant's show a decrease from eight to four. We need to remember, however, that the new book contains only about 750 selections, as against nearly 1,150 in the old; the difference there becomes more marked. Newman's "Lead, kindly Light" is in both volumes. As is well known he and Faber went from the Anglican to the Romish church. I have counted eighteen hymns dealing with the Trinity in the older book of which twelve are omitted from the new; nor do I find that they have been replaced by others. Eighty-five hymns are by female authors, most of them, however, furnishing but one. The larger contingent is chiefly by unmarried women. This proportion must be considered remarkable when we take into account that more than one-half of the verse in our current periodical publications is by women. Miss Proctor and Miss Auber are credited with three hymns each; Miss Elliott with six; Miss Winkworth with seven; Miss Havergal with eight, and Fanny Crosby with five.

Miss Crosby must be considered as somewhat exceptional on account of her blindness; besides, she was married comparatively late in life, although she is said to have written three thousand religious lyrics. How shall we account for the paucity of female contributors, seeing that women are more emotional than men and the great interest they take in the affairs of the churches? For one reason, secular occupations occupy the thoughts of married women more then of men. Although more emotional by temperament and more demonstrative, their emotions are less profound than those of the so-called stronger sex. That comparatively few women commit suicide is evidence of this. Love for her children as long as they need her care doubtless often prevents a mother from destroying herself even under the most desperate circumstances; while motherhood furnishes an external object upon which her emotions are concentrated. This fact, it may be, hinders the complete immergence into the religious feelings. It is also probable that the power of concentration is less in women than in men. That her education has generally been inferior to that of men cannot have had much weight.

It is surprising to what an extent Christian hymnology has been influenced by the Bible. A pretty careful examination of the first thousand selections in the edition of '78 reveals the fact that more than eight hundred contain references to biblical passages, while still more betray the influence of King James' version. It is plain that the contributors to this collection, and therefore all writers of English hymns, were so familiar with the dogmas of Protestantism as connected with or built upon statements found in the Sacred Book, and especially with the simple diction of the above-named version that no sooner do they attempt to give rhythmic expression to their religious emotions than the vocabulary and the images found in the Bible come trooping into their memories. The same thought frequently occurs in half a dozen different hymns and occasionally oftener. On the whole more than fifteen hundred scripture texts are used. In the latest edition the references are proportionately somewhat less. The older novelists who have essayed to portray the religious and moral life of the English people during the latter half of the eighteenth century and the beginning of the nineteenth, rate the effects of the Wesleyan movement rather low. On the other hand, the later authors, such as George Eliot, Quiller-Couch and Miss Braddon take a more favorable view.

The more recent historians, notably Mr. Lecky, in his history, are on the side of the latter. In fact the regenerative power of the movement is coming to be more and more recognized as distance in time and greater accuracy of information have dispelled the prejudice and ignorance, the latter often willful, of the adherents of the Anglican church. We have seen a similar reversal of public opinion in the history of the Salvation Army. Modern facilities for the spread of knowledge have enabled the public to understand rapidly and to appreciate more quickly the results of the reforms inaugurated by the founder of this branch of the church militant. When one reads the few lines composed by Charles Wesley at the very close of life: "In age and feebleness extreme, Who shall a helpless worm redeem? Jesus my only help thou art, Strength of my failing flesh and heart; O could I catch one smile from thee and drop into eternity!" and compares them with the earlier: "How happy are they who their Saviour obey, And have laid up their treasure above," the difference is plainly due to the moodiness of their author. Longfellow exhibits a similar unwillingness to depart. Here the trinitarian and the unitarian meet on common ground. Although Tennyson must be classed with the latter, his Crossing the Bar comes very near to an expression of trust in a personal Saviour. In all three there is the same hesitating confidence, if the phrase be permissible, the same conviction that we embrace by faith and faith alone what we cannot prove. In another hymn Wesley speaks of rising on "faith's strong eagle pinions, To scale the Mount of God." So likewise: "To patient faith the prize is sure," for "That great mysterious Deity, We soon with open face shall see." We find the same fundamental idea in those wonderful lines of Goethe with which he closes Faust: "Alles Vergaengliche Ist nur ein Gleichniss; Das Unzulaengliche Hier wird Ereigniss; Das Unbeschreibliche Hier ist's gethan; Das Ewig-Weibliche Zieht uns hinan." This is probably the most thoughtful score of words in any language. Goethe was in so far un-German as the desire for practical efficiency and material achievement was continually striving for the mastery with a penchant toward a contemplative life. After Faust has tried in vain to find internal peace in the quest for knowledge and sensual pleasure he finds it at last in providing the means for a livelihood for thousands of human beings. All that comes in contact with our sense is but symbolism, phenomenon, while the reality must forever remain beyond

our intellectual comprehension. It is this strange intermingling of the practical with the sentimental that is so strikingly characteristic of the Anglo-Saxon psyche. After all our investigations and our seeming wisdom, there are depths that our faith alone can fathom, or at least regions into which faith only can penetrate. The Slav is sentimental and emotional; at his best he wants to reform himself and society; yet he has thus far failed to do either. The South-European, especially the Frenchman, endeavors to make the feelings conform to the logical categories of the mind. We have the same story in Italy, in France, in Spain. Although all these nations have learned somewhat by experience, this cannot yet be affirmed of Russia or Poland. Those of us who are inclined to be constantly on the lookout for facts may have little sympathy with the idealism which projects itself so far and so persistently into the spirit world; albeit we cannot help but admit that this power has played a leading part is shaping the destiny of the Anglo-Saxon people. While it is not the dogma of the mediæval church personified in the Virgin Mary, we are probably not far astray if we affirm that the sexual factor unconsciously plays a hitherto unsuspected part in modern life. It is the Ewig-weibliche apprehended as a purely spiritual essence rather than as a sexual force however sublimated. It is a notable feature of the English novel that the regenerating power of woman's love appears under countless manifestations and in every condition of life. Whilst the Anglo-Saxon takes life seriously and is wont to speak of this world as a "vale of tears," he is never quite ready to leave it. He rarely faces death with the stolidity of the Slav or the nonchalance of the Frenchman. In the last hours, whether rationalist or Christian, he is serious; or we may say that both are at such a time equally religious. The love of life; the joy of existence; the pleasure growing out of fruitful activity are blessings he is loth to forego. The strongest Christian faith cannot quite overcome this reluctance. When brought face to face with the prospect of dissolution a vigorous personality almost invariably asserts itself. It shrinks from the thought of immergence into the universal soul of the cosmos. On the other hand, the average Christian, the man whose personality is but feebly developed passes into the Unknown with but little consideration of what is before him. He is content to submit to the will of God in death as in life. The idea of individual responsibility is given up and cast upon "Him who is able to save to the uttermost." Accord-

ing to the peculiar imagery called into existence by the scheme of redemption the saints are "washed whiter than snow" in the "blood of the Lamb." Yet in the same hymn (619) we are told that "Them the Lamb shall always feed, sustain them with the tree of life and lead them to the living fountains." While this sentiment is expressed in one of Wesley's lyrics, it occurs in one of Cowper's likewise. "There is a fountain fill'd with blood, Drawn from Immanuel's veins." This hymn is pervaded throughout by this singular sentiment, no less than four of its five stanzas mentioning it. The ideas that find an outlet in such imagery seem due to invasions of the psyche by the subliminal consciousness that had been previously saturated with the figurative language of the Hebrew prophet, and some of the books of the New Testament. One is inclined to fall back upon the dictum of Socrates that the poets utter many fine sentiments without knowing what they are saying, because they are moved by a sort of unconscious enthusiasm. What does Joel mean when he tells us that "The mountains shall drop down sweet wine and the hills shall flow with milk . . . and a fountain shall come forth out of the Lord," or the Psalmist when he declares that "The mountains skipped like rams, The little hills like young sheep?" The Hebrew and Arabian poets are fond of indulging in the most fantastic and far-fetched comparisons such as we do not find among the Aryans whose imagination is always under the control of the reason: even when aloft in their most fantastic flights, they never lose sight of the earth. Yet Herder, and many men since his time, tell us that this is true poetry because it is wholly spontaneous and unartificial. After the mind of the poet has become thoroughly saturated with these borrowed fancies, or at least with its phraseology, what he writes is no longer tested by the canons of reason; it is almost pure repetition. Modern thought is permeated and to some extent modified by the conceptions of the earlier and simpler age. The contents of the mind are dealt with as with objective facts and the most extravagant symbolism is treated as if it represented the reality. The exuberance of the fancy is such that it stifles the regulative faculty. To such a mind as that of Hume or Kant, but especially that of Schopenhauer or Comte, language of this sort is pure nonsense. Mediæval theology like all mediæval thought took but little account of facts; it built upon the words of the biblical record rather than upon reality, its system of theology. This system has projected itself far

into modern religion and received its popular interpretation through the medium of Christian hymns. Words to which has been given a musical and rhythmic setting will carry far and live long, whether they mean anything or not. This was often ludicrously evident among the slaves of the South with whom melodies sometimes came into existence spontaneously and were unctuously sung although they meant absolutely nothing. The poetic or imaginative faculty is essentially a faculty of primitive and early life. Almost all the poets wrote as well at twenty as at fifty. Many persons have composed verses of considerable merit in their younger years who wholly discontinued the practice after a while. The imagination was gradually overmastered by the reason. Goethe was one of the very few men who could look at facts with the eye of a poet and also of a scientist. We may say that he wore one pair of spectacles as an investigator and another as a writer and could change them at will. But they did not exhibit the objective world in the same light.

Generally speaking, the individual passes through the same mental process in the coure of his development which the race has passed through; for it is well known that all the earlier literatures are poetic. Only in exceptional cases is this law inoperative. Not only a considerable number of poets, but most hymn writers have rested at the earlier stage. Hence the Apocalypse has been a fruitful fountain of inspiration. In the edition of '78 more than one hundred selections embody ideas expressed in it. This is about the same number as the four Gospels with their more sober, narrative tone.

Few persons are given to introspection, or even capable of honestly conducting such a proceeding; few persons are therefore aware of the extent to which their lives are dominated by their feelings. To most persons it seems a distinct loss when they have been thrust out of the warm and comforting atmosphere of the emotions into the cold region of intellectuality. The emotional life is stimulated by unity of sentiment and by the rhythmic cadence of verse. The combined emotional force of ten persons is greater than would be produced by adding one to the other; it would be more nearly represented by ten multiplied into ten. *Vires crescunt eundo.* When the disciples were "with one accord in one place," we are told, "there came a sound as of a rushing, mighty wind and filled all the house where they were sitting." Then came upon them the spirit of prophecy, and so on. This emo-

tional bliss is expressed by Bernard of Clairvaux in the lyric strain: "Of him who did salvation bring, I could forever think and sing;" and by another poet thus: "O could I ever stay in such a frame as this, I'd sing myself away To everlasting bliss," although the latter is not in our collection. The extraordinary power the emotions have over the intellect is well exemplified by the experience of Benjamin Franklin under the overpowering eloquence of Whitefield. He tells us in his autobiography that on one occasion, after listening for a short time to one of his sermons, he discovered that a collection would be taken and resolved not to give a penny. A little later he decided to give the copper coins he had about him, then the silver, but finally when the hat was passed, he emptied his pocket into it—copper, silver and gold. An acquaintance of his had purposely fortified himself against the sway of his feeling by taking no money with him. However, on listening to the eloquent pleas of the preacher, he regretted his parsimony and asked a neighbor for a loan. The latter refused on the ground that the would-be borrower was not in his right senses. Franklin thinks that he was the only person in all the throng who remained unaffected. His testimony shows that he considered the man who had his feelings completely under control altogether exceptional. As for Franklin himself, we know that he had hardly a trace of idealism in his mental make-up. From his earliest youth he always kept himself "well in hand." Still we might suppose that in his earlier years he would be somewhat more pliable than later. This incident seems, however, to have taken place when he was more than thirty years of age, at a period, therefore, when his mental development was complete. Double mentality is plainly expressed in many English hymns. In most of the German hymns the quietistic element predominates; hence among them social and moral reforms have originated less frequently with avowedly religious people, especially among the clergy, than in England. The Englishman, like the heroes of Marathon, prays before he fights. He prays for strength to fight rather than to endure. Oliver Cromwell and "Chinese" Gordon were typical religious enthusiasts. Both fought with the Bible in one hand and the sword in the other. The former had enemies enough at home and could not therefore go abroad; the latter had no foes to meet in battle at home and therefore fought them in foreign lands. If Cromwell had been born in 1833 and Gordon in 1599 it is probable that each would in the main have exhibited the traits of the other.

Both John Wesley and "General" Booth engaged all their lives in fighting the devil, although they did not use carnal weapons.

The Catholic hears mass when about to enter the peril of battle, but the ceremony has a less personal appeal than a spontaneous prayer. It is well known that the English language has no equivalent for *Gemueth;* but the *Gemueth* may be religious as well as social. The Englishman is more reserved, less bound to his fellows, more dependent upon himself than any other man of modern times. Wesley got his mystical ideas from the German Moravians; but they stimulated him to exert himself for the salvation of his fellow-men rather than to bear the trials that Providence might send upon him. The sentiment expressed by Watts: "Sure, I must fight if I would win, Increase my courage, Lord!" is thoroughly English. The Imitation of Christ has never been a favorite book with the Anglo-Saxon people. Many of our histories of literature tell us that it is the most read volume next after the Bible. If this be true, it does not apply to English Protestants, among whom it is rarely to be found.

Although Bunyan was himself a man of peace, his Christian was not fully equipped for his journey until he had been provided with a coat of mail. This enabled him to persevere to the end. On the other hand, Faithful, who had not been thus equipped, ended his career "midway in life."

One cannot help but recognize a broad catholicity in this book which is characteristic of modern Protestantism in general. There is an undertone of insistence upon the observance of certain ceremonies and of holding certain beliefs, but they are not made conspicuous. In contrast herewith is the insistence of the Romish church upon the dogma that salvation is attainable only by those who accept its creed and comply with certain formulas. "*Extra ecclesiam non est salus*," is still held to be as true as it was in the days of St. Cyprian, although "ecclessia" is held to be both inclusive and exclusive as well. Hence it was a natural inference, if not formally taught, that the only thing necessary to salvation for even the greatest sinner in wordly deeds, was an orthodox belief. The history of the mediæval church abundantly testifies that men expected to be saved who had been guilty of almost every form of moral turpitude. The Methodist Hymnal insists that he alone is in possession of the true faith who shows it by his works. In the earlier edition two hymns refer to the passage in

Acts 4 : 12 where Christ is spoken of as the only name under heaven through which men can be saved, but both are omitted from the latest. There is further evidence of catholicity in the decreased prominence given to the doctrine of the Trinity. I have noted eighteen hymns in the earlier edition in which this doctrine is embodied and that of this number ten have been omitted from that of 1905. When we take into account the relative size of the two books the proportion of omissions is greater than would be indicated by these numbers. It is probable that religious lyricism has reached its limit. A glance through this Hymnal shows only a very few of its contributors were alive in 1900, whilst the great majority belong to the preceding century. The possibilities of the field are well nigh exhausted. Nor can the volume be called "Wesley's Hymns," as only about one-sixth of the number are by Charles and about a score by John. In fact it is doubtful whether the more famous brother composed any, although he translated and adapted several, chiefly from the German. His emotions found utterance in physical activity rather than in contemplation. A dozen are by A. W. Faber; twice as many by Doddridge; almost threescore by Watts; a score by Montgomery, and a dozen by John Newton. With the exception of those contributed by women almost all are by clergymen. The large preponderance of the Wesleys no longer obtains in the new book. The hymns by Charles are reduced from 308 to 121, and those by John from 31 to 19.

RELIGION AND SENSUALISM AS CONNECTED BY CLERGYMEN.

THEODORE SCHROEDER.

New York City.

That there exists a psychic co-relation between religion and lust has been a matter of frequent surmise. The paucity of discussion concerning it, is mainly due to fear of the public's intellectual inhospitality. In the mob, absence of scientific zeal for truth, the presence of religious bigotry, and an unsuspected ignorance of psychology, combine to make it resent all analysis of religious emotions, such as tend to expose its sexual origin, or destroy its evidentiary value as a support for theologies and for moral sentimentalizing.

In the course of my own protracted studies, some time ago, I was made glad by discovering some of Prof. Louba's work, who it seems to me has discussed our present topic with more truly scientific candor and keener psychologic insight than any other person whom I have read. While it appears to me that in these respects he has left such critics as Prof. James far in the rear, yet like others he has erred under the unconscious influence of undue conservatism.

The fault which I see in all present studies, which have come under my observation, is that the student has been too much dominated by the special view point of the alienist, and the materials investigated in this connection have been chiefly of the kind which most naturally attract and arrest the attention of such specialists. The result of this has been that the connection of religion and lust (so far as I have observed) has always been treated exclusively as a matter of the pathology of religion, assuming it to be wholly dissociated from the ordinary religious experiences, where a broader outlook would have considered the pathologic phenomena as a mere key to the interpretation of the riddle of religion in its more normal aspects.

Here it is my intention to quote some opinions connecting religion and lust, and owing to the necessary limit of a magazine essay, I have

chosen to quote only the opinions of clergymen. For several reasons these seemed to me to be the most important; first, because these men had better opportunity for personal observation of the phenomena commented upon; and second, because their view point left them uninfluenced by the mental predisposition so natural to the alienists and even other psychologists; third, because their deductions have been made from religious experiences that usually were quite normal or in the borderland, and seldom included the cases which are clearly pathological; fourth, their whole interest has been to support religion, and their admission are all against that interest.

From these opinions, and other studies, I will, at the close of this essay, state a well supported working hypothesis for a psychologic solution of the whole riddle of religion. Later I hope to give some substantial support toward a demonstration of the correctness of this hypothesis.

In his time, and for some time after, the Rev. Henry More, D. D., (1614-1687) was as highly esteemed as any man in Europe both for his learning and piety. All important books on literary history and philosophy have contained eulogistic remarks about him. The extent of the enthusiasm he evoked may be shown by the remark of Dr. Outram, who said, that he "looked upon More as the holiest person upon the face of the earth." Among other things Dr. More (Philophilus Parresiastes) wrote, "A Discourse of the Nature, Causes, Kinds and Cure of Enthusiasms." In his introduction in hinting at the connection between enthusiasm and fleshly passions he tells us that he has omitted much, thinking it better to let the guilty go free than to endanger the innocent. While many of his allusions and discussions are deeply veiled yet enough appears that is plain and to the point. He points out, what is known to modern students of sexual psychopathy, that fits of unusual depression and exaltation often alternate in cases of sexual derangement. Aside from this we will quote a few paragraphs which he permitted to go into the text in spite of his assurance of expurgation. In reading the following paragraphs the connection between melancholy, ecstatic exaltation, and sexual derangement should be constantly borne in mind, as explanatory of that which is recorded. Some of the italics in all that follows are mine.

"And when men talk so much of the Spirit, if they take notice what they ordinarily mean by it, it is nothing else but a strong and

impetuous emotion whereby they are zealously and fervently carried in matters of Religion: So that *Fervour*, Zeal, and Spirit is in effect all one. Now no Complexion is so hot as Melancholy when it is heated, being like boiling water, as Aristotle observes. So that it transcends the flame of fire, or it is like heated stone or iron when they are red hot, for they are then more hot by far than a burning Coal."

After quoting some more from Aristotle he writes of the enthusiast as, "being as it were drunk with a new wine drawn from that cellar of his own that lies in the lowest region of his body, though he is not aware of it."

Further on he continues thus: "For the sense of Love at large is eminently comprehended in the temper of the *Melancholist*. Melancholy and wine being of so near a nature one to the other, but wine makes men amorous; which the Philosopher proves in that a man in wine will kiss such persons as a sober man would scarce touch with a pair of tongs, by reason of their age and ugliness. And assuredly it was the fumes of Melancholy that infatuated the fancy of a late new fangled Religionist, when he sat so kindly by a Gypsie under an hedge, and put his hand into her bosom in a fit of devotion, and vaunted afterwards of it as if it had been a very pious and meritorious action."

"But now that Melancholy partakes much of the nature of wine, he evinces from that it is so spiritous; and that it is so spiritous, from that it is so spumeous; and that Melancholy is flatuous or spiritous, he appeals to the Physitians. Wherefore the Philosopher assigns another companion to *Venus* besides the plump youth *Bacchus*, which the Poets bestow upon her, who, though more seemingly sad, yet will prove as faithful an attendant as that other, and this is Melancholy.

"Now besides this Flatulencie that solicits to lust, there may be such a due dash of Sanguine in the Melancholy, that the complexion may prove stupendiously enravishing. For that more sluggish *Dulcour* of the blood will be sometime so quickened and actuated by the fiercenesse and Sharpnesse of the Melancholy humour (as the fulsomenesse of sugar is by the acrimony of Lemons), that it will afford farre more sensible pleasure; and all the imaginations of love, of what kind soever, will be farre more lively and vigorous, more piercing and rap-

turous, than they can be in pure Sanguine itself. From this complexion are poets, and the more highly pretending *Enthusiasts;* Betwixt whom this is the great difference, that a *Poet* is an Enthusiast in jest, and an *Enthusiast* is a *Poet in good earnest;* Melancholy prevailing so much with him, that he takes his no better then Poeticall fits, and figments, for divine inspiration and reall truth."

"But that it is a mere naturall flatuous and spiritous temper with a proportionable *Dosis* of Sanguine added to their Melancholy, not the pure Spirit of God that thus inacts them; is plainly to be discovered not onely in their language, which is very sweet and melting, as if sugar plums lay under their tongue, but from notorious circumstances of their lives. And in my apprehension it will be a sufficient pledge of this truth if we set before our eyes those that have the most highly pretended to the Spirit, and that have had the greatest power to delude the people. For that pride and rumour of minds whereby they are so confidently carried out to professe, as well as to conceive so highly of themselves, that no lesse Title must serve their turns, then that of *God, the Holy-Ghost, or paraclet, the Messias, the last and chiefest prophet, the Judge of the quick and the dead,* and the like; that all this comes from Melancholy is by a lower kind of working of that complexion. For to begin with the first of these Impostours, *Simon Magus,* who gave out that he was *God the father,* he prov'd himself to be but a wretched lecherous man by that inseparable companion of his, *Helena,* whom he called Selene; and affirmed to be one of the *Divine Powers,* when she was no better than a lewd Strumpet. There was also one *Menander,* a *Samaritan,* that vaunted himself to be the *Saviour of the World,* a maintainer of the same licentious and impure opinions with *Simon. Montanus* professed himself to be the *Spirit of God,* but that it was the spirit of Melancholy that besotted him, his two drabs *Prisca* and *Maximilla* evidently enough declare, who are said to leave their own husbands to follow him. We might adde a third, one *Quintilla,* a woman of no better fame and an intimate acquaintance of the other two, from whence the *Montanists* were also called *Quintillians. Manes* also held himself to be the true *Paraclet,* but left a sect behind him indoctrinated in all licentious and filthy principles. *Mahomet* more successefull then any, the last and chiefest Prophet that ever came into the world (if you will believe him), that he was Melancholy, his Epelepticall fits are one argument, and his per-

mission of plurality of wives and concubines, his lascivious descriptions of the joys of heaven or Paradise, another."

After numerous other references which for want of space I must here omit, he continues his reflections with the following words which I will make my closing quotation from this author.

"We have I think by a sufficient Induction discovered the condition and causes of this mysterious mockery of Enthusiastical love in the highest workings of it, and shown how it is but in effect a *natural* complexion, as very often Religious zeal in general is discovered to be: As is also observable from the tumultuous *Anabaptists in Germany;* For amongst other things that they contended for, this was not least, to wit, a freedome to have many wives: So that it should seem that for the most part this religious heat in men, as it arises merely from nature, is like *Aurum fulminans*, which though it flie upward somewhat, the greatest force when it is fired is found to go downward. This made that religious sect of the *Beguardi* conceit that it was a sin to kiss a woman, but none at all to lie with her. The same furnisht *Carpocrates* and *Apelles*, two busie sectaries in their time, the one with his *Marcellina*, the other with his *Philumena* to spend their lust upon."

"Moreover for these Rapturous and Enthusiasticall affections *even in them that are truly good and pious, it cannot be denied but that the fuell of them is usually naturall or contracted Melancholy*, which any man may perceive that is religious, unlesse his Soul and Body be blended together, and there be a confusion of all; as it is in mistaken *Enthusiasts* that impute that to God which is proper to Nature." (Enthusiasmus Triumphatus, pp. 16 to 59.)

The "profoundly pious and learned" John Smith (1618-1652), of Cambridge, in one of his discourses on the shortness of pharasaical righteousness, hints quite unmistakably at a connection between spiritual and sensual enthusiasm. He is writing of experiences that "may seem to be true operations of the divine life; when yet all this is nothing else but the energy of their own self love, touched with some *fleshly apprehensions of divine things and excited by them.* There are such things in our Christian religion, when a carnal, unhallowed mind takes the chair and gets the expounding of them, may seem *very delicious to the fleshly appetites of men.* . . . . True religion is no piece of artifice; it is no boiling up of our imaginative powers, nor the *glowing*

heats of passion, though these are too often mistaken for it.'' (Requoted from Edwards Religious Affection, p. 153-4.)

In the eighteenth century Bishop Lavington (1683-1762) reports one Mr. Norris (probably the Rev. Joseph Norris), "an ingenious and good man," as writing: "There is an amorous principle in a man which must necessarily have an object; and he thinks persons of the most amorous affections the most likely to make spiritual lovers. In the love of God, as 't is a passion, the motion of the will is attended with a sensible commotion of the spirit and estuation of the blood. *'T is an experimental truth that passion is a great instrument of devotion.*" (Re-quoted from Enthusiasm of Methodists, Part 3, p. 199.)

Bishop Lavington, after making an elaborate study of religious enthusiasm, records it as his own opinion that: "*These excesses of spiritual and carnal affections are nearer allied than is generally thought, arising from* the irregular emotions of the blood and the animal spirits, and the patient is hurried on either way according to the nature of the object. And I am much mistaken, and so is history too, if some of the warmest and most enthusiastic pretenders to the love of God have not entertained the same violent passion (not quite so spiritual) for some oftheir neighbors." (Enthusiam of Methodists, part 1, p. 59.)

"Persons of amorous complexion are as likely as any to fall into enthusiasms, particularly with respect to the same strange transports of divine love. *From a similitude and close correspondence of this passion*, considered as natural and religious, we hear, in such case of such 'meltings, languishments, huggings and close embraces of the Deity, such raptures, tumults, sinkings, swoonings, despairings, and distractions and loss of senses.' Plutarch describes a lover as 'burning, pale, trembling, seized with a vertigo. Is not this (says he) a manifest, inspired fury, a divine possession, an agitation of the soul?'" (Enthusiasm of Methodists, part 3, p. 198-199.)

The Reverend author of the "Parable of the ten virgins, very often intimates an observed connection between religion and lust. I present one sample. After quoting Jude 4, concerning "men turning the grace of our God into lasciviousness" he says: "It is too common for men, at the first work of conversion, Oh, then the cry for grace and Christ, *and afterwards grow licentious.''*

(Shepherd's Parables, etc., requoted from Edwards' Religious Affection, p. 315.)

The Rev. John Wesley, of Methodist fame, tells us that, "young converts are very apt to ascribe to the operation of the Holy Ghost, what is owing to the mechanism of the body." (See Church's Farther Remarks, p. 128-129, cited by Lavington on Enthusiasm, etc., p. 106, part 2.) May not the old convert, with great enthusiasm, be doing the same thing?

The Rev. Jonathan Edwards (1703-1758), the distinguished father of the "Great New England Awakening" of the 18th century, had unexcelled opportunity for viewing revival excitements from within the circle of the elect. The literature of that period is full of covert insinuations of the sensual joy and irregularities which accompanied the "spiritual" enthusiam of the converts. In very chaste and guarded language Dr. Edwards confesses to the irregularities, and with the guilelessness of a child seeks to explain that this is Satan's interference with and imitation of God's work.

He says: "There are three things I would take notice of with regard to the experiences of Christians, by which the devil has many advantages against us. The first thing is the mixture there oftimes is in the experiences of true Christians, whereby when they have truly gracious experiences and divine and spiritual discoveries and exercises, *they have something else mixed with them, besides what is spiritual.* There is a mixture of that which is natural and that which is corrupt, with that which is divine. . . . And, indeed, *it is not to be supposed that Christians ever have any experiences in this world that are wholly pure, entirely spiritual, without any mixture of what is natural and carnal.*" . . .

"The things, of all which there is frequently some mixture with gracious experiences, yea, with very great and high experiences, are these three, human or natural affection and passion, impressions of the imagination, and a degree of self-righteousness or spiritual pride. There is very often with that which is spiritual a great mixture of that affection or passion which arises from natural principles, so that nature has a very great hand in those vehement notions and flights of the passions that appear. The novelty of things, or the sudden transition from an opposite extreme, and many other things that might be mentioned, greatly contribute to the raising of the passions. And sometimes there is not only a mixture of that which is common and natural with gracious experience, but even that which is animal, that which is

in a great measure from the body, and is properly the result of the animal frame.

"*The children of God are not loved purely for Christ's sake*, but there may be a great mixture of that natural love that many sects of heretics have boasted of. . . . Yea, there may be *a mixture of natural love to the opposite sex, with Christian and divine love.* . . . .

"It appears to be very probable that many of the heresies that have arisen, and sects that have appeared in the Christian world, with wild, enthusiastical notions and practices, began at first by these means, that it was such a degenerating of experiences that first gave rise to them, or at least led the way to them. . . . .

"The unhappy person that is subject to such a degeneracy, is not sensible of his own calamity; but *because he finds himself still violently moved, and greater heat of zeal, and more vehement motions of his animal spirits, thinks himself fuller of the spirit of God than ever.*" . . .

"And so love to the brethren may by degrees come to be but little else but fondness, and zeal for a party; *yea, through a mixture of a natural love to the opposite sex*, may degenerate more and more until it issues in that which is criminal and gross. And I leave it with those who are better acquainted with ecclesiastical history, to inquire whether such a degeneracy of affections as this, might not be the first thing that led that way, and gave occasion to the rise of the abominable notions of some sects that have arisen, concerning the community of women. However, that is, yet certainly the mutual embraces and kisses of persons of different sexes, under the notion of Christian love and holy kisses, are utterly to be disallowed, as having the most direct tendency *quickly to turn Christian love into unclean and brutish lust*, which will not be the better—but ten times the worse—for being christened by the name of Christian love.

"I should also think it advisable that meetings of young people of both sexes, in the evening by themselves, without a minister or any other elder people amongst them for religious exercises, should be avoided. . . . As a lively, solemn sense of divine things on the minds of young persons may gradually decay, so there will be danger that an ill improvement of these meetings may gradually prevail; if not in any unsuitable behavior while together in meeting, yet when they break up to go home, they may *naturally consort together* in couples for other than religious purposes."

(A narrative of many surprising Conversions, by Jonathan Edwards, pp. 279-293, edition of 1832, Worcester.)

In another volume Dr. Edwards again refers to this subject and says: "On the one hand it must be observed, that not everything which in any respect appertains to spiritual affections, is new and entirely different from what natural men can conceive of and do experience; some things are common to gracious affections with other affections; many circumstances, appendages and effects are common." . . .

"It was before observed, that the affection of love is, as it were, the fountain of all affection; and particularly that Christian love is the fountain of all gracious affection. . . . There are many high affections, great seeming love and rapturous joys which have nothing of this holy relish belonging to them."

Farther on in the same volume he is writing of how "gracious affections soften the heart and are attended and followed with a Christian tenderness of spirit." After elaborating how they thus come to consider their position to be thus made safe, they favor themselves more and "more easily yield to temptations and the solicitations of their lusts." (Religious Affections, p. 140-154-179-314.)

Charles Chauncey, D. D. (1705-1787), gives us much of the "dangerous tendency" observed by him in the "awakening" for which Jonathan Edwards was so largely responsible. He writes of the use of scripture texts to justify "a liberty hereupon taken to have communion not only with other men's goods but wives also." Then he describes with some detail the swoonings and contortions, saying: "In some cases accompanied with indecencies I shan't mention," and sometimes "opening such a horrible scene as can scarce be described in words." Farther on comes the account of a man in a revival meeting who had so hard a fight with the devil that he "stripped off his upper garments." . . . "Nay, *some have been made sensible, their joy was nothing more than a mere sensitive passion*, and have owned they were under a delusion, while they imagined it was of divine origin. . . . . Sure I am, that the *sudden looseness of their lives* answering their ignorant loose ungospel-like doctrine, did certify me that the spirit of comfort, was not their comforter;" Of some others it is said by him they were guilty of even "fouler sins which I here name not." Again he says that the loving kindness of God vented itself "by congratulations in the way of kissing, etc. They continued in a sort of

extasie, either lying as though in a sleep, or uttering extatic expressions of joy, of the love of Christ, and the love to him."

(Seasonable thoughts on the State of Religion in New England [Boston, 1734], Preface and pages 63 to 132).

Dr. La Roy Sunderland, a famous Methodist revivalist, of a century ago observed the fact that his converts were almost exclusively young women, he being then a youth. In later years, having in the meantime "left the ministry," he hinted his explanation of this fact by saying, "human characteristics easily accounted for." (Idiology, p, 80, v. 2.)

Rev. Frederick Robertson (1816-1853), in one of his essays says: "*The devotional feelings are often singularly allied to the animal nature.* They conduct the unconscious victim of feelings that appear divine, into a state of life at which the world stands aghast; Fanaticism is always united with either excessive lewdness or desperate asceticism. The physiological performance of the generative function is sure to be attacked by religious bigotry." (Requoted from Brinton's Religious Sentiment, p. 61.)

The Rev. J. M. Wilson, the head master of Clifton College, England, when discussing the sexual vices of boyhood, remarks that boys whose temperament exposes them to these faults are usually far from destitute of religious feelings: *that there is and always has been an undoubted co-existence of religion and animalism; that emotional appeals and revivals* are far from rooting out carnal sin; and that in some places, as is well known, they *seem actually to stimulate*, even at the present day, *to increased licentiousness.* (Journal of Education, 1881, cited and re-estated by Havelock Ellis.) In 1882, Spurgeon, the distinguished English divine, pointed out in one of his sermons, that by a strange yet natural law, *excess of spirituality is next door to sensuality.* (Psychology of Sex, [Modesty,] p. 232.)

Elder Frederick, the chief of the Shaker celibate establishment told William Hepworth Dixon, "that every great spiritual revival which has agitated America since his church was planted, has led to a new society being founded on the principles of Mother Ann. The eighteen unions represent eighteen revivals." (Free Love and its Votaries, p. 30-31.) This is a plain and distinct recognition by him of a connection between the abnormity of voluntary celibacy and revival emotion.

The Rev. John Humphrey Noyes, founder of the Oneida Free-Love Bible-communists, doubtless had unsurpassed opportunity of viewing from within the charmed circle the phenomenon we are studying. He reached the same conclusions as other observers already quoted, and expressed them thus:

"It is evident from what we have seen that revivals breed social revolutions. All the social irregularities reported in the papers followed in the train of revivals; and so far as I know, all revivals have developed tendencies to such irregularities. . . . *Religious love is a very near neighbor to sex love, and they always get mixed in the intimacies and social excitement of revivals.* The thing a man wants, after he has found the salvation of his soul, is to find his Eve and his paradise. Hence, these wild experiments and terrible disasters." He says further: "*Revivals lead to religious love; religious love excites passions;* the converts finding themselves in theocratic liberty, begin to look about for mates and their paradise. Here begins divergence. If woman have the lead, the feminine idea that ordinary wedded love is carnal and unholy rises and becomes a ruling principle. Mating on the spiritual plan, with all the heights and depths of sentimental love, becomes the order of the day. Then, if a prudent Mother Ann [of the Shakers] is at the head of affairs, the sexes are fenced off from each other, and carry on their platonic intercourse through a grating. But if a wild Mary Lincoln or Lucina Humphreyville is in the ascendant, the presumptuous experiment of bundling is tried; and the end is ruin. On the other hand, if the leaders are men, the theocratic impulse takes the opposite direction, and polygamy in some form is the result. Thus Mormonism is the masculine form, as Shakerism is the feminine form of the more morbid products of revivals." (Free-love and its Votaries, p. 30-31, Dixon's Spiritual Wives, v. 2, p. 181.)

Rev. S. Baring Gould, the author of sixteen volumes, on "The Lives of the Saints," besides many other kindred books, had great opportunity for knowing what history discloses on this subject. He says: "*Spiritual exaltation runs naturallg, inevitably, into licentiousness*, unless held in the iron bands of discipline to the moral law. . . . It is apparently a law that mysticism should rapidly pass from the stage of asceticism into that of license. At any rate such has been the invariable succession of stages in every mystic society that is allowed unchecked to follow its own course. In the Roman Church those thus

psychologically affected are locked up in convents. . . . The mysticism of the gnostic sects, the mysticism of mediæval heretics almost invariably resolved itself into orgies of licentiousness. *The religious passion verges so closely on the sexual passion, that a slight additional pressure given to it bursts the partition, and both are confused in a frenzy of religious debauch.*" (Freaks of Fanaticism, pp. 14-267-268.)

The Rev. Geo. Wm. Knox, of the Union Theological Seminary writes: "From its emotional nature, religion lends itself readily to immorality, and to superstition. To immorality, because the religious feelings are akin to other feelings, and unless carefully discriminated, *are associated with sensuality*, fear, anger, cruelty and the like. Religion then gives its sanction to these passions, and forms a combination of terrible strength and evil. The religious feeling, like all others longs for gratification, is of great strength and may be readily misled into supposing itself gratified through the stimulation of other passions." (International Journal of Ethics, v. 12, p. 306.)

A study of years, has led me to the following conclusions of fact: Every intense and widespread religious revival has produced increased sexual irregularity. Every organized effort toward ostentatious sexuality has found its justification in religion. Here I have in mind those numerous small sects, such as the Adamites, with whom parade or worship in nudity was esteemed a duty to God; and those other anomalous creatures who go about wearing badges or uniforms, which unceasingly and ostentatiously advertise their claim to chastity. Were persons to announce through the newspapers their unseducible virginity, we would believe them sexually insane. When the same end is accomplished by conventional monastic methods of absurdly giving publicity to the same boast, we think nothing of it, only because we have become accustomed to it. Every concerted effort at the establishment of compulsory sexual excesses, either of repression or indulgence, has found its warrant in religion and its beginnings amid religious excitement. Every known type of sexual perversion, from sadist lust-muder up and down, has been credited with the endorsement of some god, and practiced and sanctified by some religious society.

In the interpretation of the more normal phenomena of religious experience, I deem the foregoing matter of the highest importance, since I believe that what is thus shown to be conspicuously true of all intense religious experience must be true in proportionately lesser de-

gree of all religious experiences of lesser intensity. In the Alienist and Neurologist for August, 1907, phylogenetically considered, I suggested how in the stage of racial adolescence the human consciousness of sex-functioning necessarily evolved to sex-worship, and this to all other forms or religion. Here can only be suggested in a sentence what sometime I will publish in elaboration, viz.: That the observed fact that religion is primarily a phenomena of adolescence, is but a special illustration of the fundamental law of evolution that in the development of the individual we have a brief, compressed reproduction of the long series of transitions through which the race has passed.

Taking all these facts together I deduce the following working hypothesis, viz.: All religion not based upon personal religious (subjective) experiences, is mere sympathetic imitation, and properly speaking is not religion at all. (For some discussion of this see my article on "The Religious and Secular distinguished" in *The Arena* for Jan., 1908.) All religious experiences, in the special sense in which revival converts use those words, consist in the misinterpretation of an unidentified sex-ecstasy, founded upon the disturbances of the sexual nerve-centres as in adolescence, and that this sex-emotion thus misinterpreted, certifies to the inerrancy of whatever doctrine is in the mind of the experiencing individual associated with that misinterpreted sex-ecstasy.

Thus it is that men think they "know because they feel and are firmly convinced because strongly agitated." This is why religion is not a matter of reason, and so we may explain away the seeming certitude of the testimony of faith and the inward miracle of grace, and without the assumption of the religionists we may account for his existence, consistent with the beliefs of the Materialist Monist.

THE EDUCATION AND PROBLEMS OF THE PROTESTANT MINISTRY.

By DAVID SPENCE HILL.

Fellow in Clark University.

III.

Theological Education.

If we ask, "are opportunities diminishing for inspiring ministerial activity?" an answer is had by the brief contemplation of our present moral and social needs. Let us enumerate some of these. The time is propitious for emulating the local and contemporaneous aspect of the ancient prophetic office; for more emphasis upon the immanent; for a reinterpretation of the social teachings of Jesus applicable to the present; for the rank and file of the laymen and the ministry of the churches to act unitedly in calling to judgment officials and seminaries and ecclesiastical organs; to burn or to revise plainly obstructive and contradictory doctrinal tenets; to raise uniformly by concerted action (possibly by the Council of Churches to meet in 1908) the admission requirements of the ministry; for the adoption of sensible financial methods, for better utilization of church capital and an equitable system of support for the minister; for the renunciation of clerical exemptions; for more attention to the conserving of the young, healthful and pure rather than to the reclamation of the hopelessly degraded who should be isolated; for the exercise of preventive efforts regarding the depraved, insane and criminal and the sins of society as a group; for recognition of the physical and psychical factors causative of sin and woe and for co-operation in prophylactic measures; for insistence upon justice for the friendless in our courts, and upon equally prompt disposal of rich and poor malefactors; for the exposure and punishment of the oppressors of the people, especially the vicious rich; for help in removing the causes of preventable poverty;

for elimination of the horrors of child-labor, by means of exposure, vigilance, investigation and legislation; for earnest discussion and familiarity with the remedies proposed for the evils of child and woman-labor and pauperism; for effective measures to protect the working woman from suffering, humiliation, disease and ruin; for a contribution from the ministry to the solution of the problems of prostitution and the social evil; for a cessation of intermeddling with affairs in distant states, of fomenting sectional and racial questions abroad; for especial activity in reform *at home*, each man seeking primarily to regenerate his own community by the use of every known physical and psychical, hygienic and legal remedy. This might give the answer to the cry for the practicalization of Christianity and its ministers. Interest in the position that organized religion should bear to these reforms will remain remote from those few churchmen to whom religion means nothing more than a means for furthering personal ends or the gratification of vanity. There are a growing number of men in the ministry, old and young, who covet all the equipment science can give. They possess the progressive spirit but lack information and what is more precious — an insight into the method and aim of research.

The churches and the world look to the theological seminaries for the production of a capable ministry. We now inquire in detail into the contribution the seminaries are making to the present situation.

The first institutions for higher education in the United States originated chiefly with the desire to educate candidates for the ministry; this was a main object in founding Harvard in 1636 and William and Mary in 1693. Candidates for the ministry pursued during the regular college course special studies, and in addition they were examined on certain theological books. The faculty included, as a rule, a professor of Hebrew and a professor of theology, and their work was supplemented by theological studies in private or under the oversight of clergymen (28). It is a mistake to assume that this system has passed, since a large proportion of clergymen are not seminary graduates. Many students go directly from the small sectarian college into the ministry. Although the standard varies in different parts of the country, it is true that licentiate admission to the ministry of almost any Protestant denomination can be gained by candidates without college or seminary training. According to Dexter (12 a) the best avail-

able figures indicate that about one minister in four, the country over, is a college graduate. The laxity attracts a certain ignorant element into the ministry — but also enables educated men of other than seminary education to enter. A noted educator observes: "Many intelligent laymen have the feeling that the training provided for students in the theological seminary does not meet the requirements of modern times. These men base their judgment upon what they see in connection with the work of the minister who has been trained in the seminary. Nor is this disaffection restricted to the laity. . . . So prevalent is this feeling that students for the ministry often ask the question, is there not some way of making preparation other than through the seminary? . . . . It is a serious question as to whether the education which the ministry has been receiving in the seminaries is as effective as a more practical experience with men. . . . . The old-fashioned method of training ministers, the method employed before the organization of the theological seminary, because it has some certain advantages over modern methods deserves, at least, a partial reinstatement in the period of preparation." (19). The writer knows university graduates, Doctors of Philosophy, medical graduates and college graduates, and non-collegians, who have not been to seminaries but who are doing excellent work in the ministry.

That the seminary, as it exists, is a non-essential institution is further illustrated by the practice and the unequalled growth of the Methodist church which was late in inaugurating the special seminary plan. Now with numbers of ministerial candidates less than formerly, attendance in the Methodist seminaries is increasing. As the Methodists are, numerically, the strongest Protestant group in America, their method claims attention. The Methodist system encourages the two extremes of strength and weakness. Ignoramuses and weaklings may stand elbow to elbow with giants. However, the systematic course of study required of young ministers under the direction of committees compels a better education than where men are admitted to the ministry with neither this nor full seminary preparation. The four years' course of study required of every minister of the Methodist Episcopal Church before ordination is as follows: on admission the candidate begins this course, is assigned practical work but is not ordained until its full completion (14).

1. *For Admission on Trial.* (a) English Branches: Elementary English. Prin-

ciples of Rhetoric.— *Hill.* Outlines of History.— *Swinton.* A Manual of Bible History.— *Blaikie.* A Manual of Christian Doctrine.— *J. S. Banks.* A Plain Account of Christian Perfection.— *Wesley.* The Discipline of the Methodist Episcopal Church, 1904. John Wesley, the Methodist. A Biography. Written Sermon. *To be read:* The Heart of John Wesley's Journal.— *Parker.* Selections from the Writings of John Wesley.— *Welch.* The Tongue of Fire.— *Arthur. First Year.* Introduction to the Holy Scriptures. (O. T. Pp. 1-447.) — *Harman.* Systematic Theology, Vol. 1.— *Miley.* Lectures on Homiletics.— *Kern.* Student's American History.— *Montgomery.* Written Sermon. *To be read:* Sermons (Vol. I) P I-XXXIII. — *Wesley.* A Compendious History of American Methodism.— *Stevens.* The Heart of Asbury's Journal.— *Tipple.* A Digest of Methodist Law.— *Merrill.* Extemporaneous Oratory.— *Buckley.* Methodist Review. *Second Year.* Introduction to the Holy Scriptures. (New Testament. Pp. 448-770.) — *Harman.* Systematic Theology, Vol. II.— *Miley.* Lessons in Logic.— *Jevons.* A Short History of the English People.— *Green.* Essay. *To be read:* Sermons (Vol. I) XXXIV-LVIII. — *Wesley* History of Methodism, Vol. 1.— *Stevens.* English and American Literature.— *Beers.* Ecclesiastical Architecture.— *Martin.* The General Conference and Episcopacy.— *Harris.* Methodist Review. *Third Year.* Biblical Hermeneutics.— *Terry.* Outlines of Descriptive Psychology.— *Ladd.* Outlines of Universal History, Parts I and II.— *Fisher.* History of the Christian Church, Vol. I.— *Hurst.* The Land of Israel.— *Stewart.* Written Sermon. *To be read:* History of Methodism, Vol. II.— *Stevens.* History of Western Europe.— *Robinson.* Christian Archæology.— *Bennett.* Introduction to Political Economy.— *Ely.* The Supernatural Book.— *Foster.* Methodist Review. *Fourth Year.* Grounds of Theistic and Christian Belief.— *Fisher.* Analogy of Religion.— *Butler.* Christian Ethics.— *Smyth.* Outlines of Universal History, Part III.— *Fisher.* History of the Christian Church, Vol. II.— *Hurst.* Essay. *To be read:* History of Methodism, Vol. III.— *Stevens.* Sociology.— *C. D. Wright.* Life and Epistles of St. Paul.— *Conybeare and Howson.* History of the Ritual of the Methodist Episcopal Church.— *Cooke.* The Governing Conference in Methodism.— *Neely.* The Pentateuch.— *Bissell.* Methodist Review.

In 1905 there were twenty-eight bishops in the Methodist Episcopal Church and twelve in the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, these denominations representing five million members. In round numbers, according to the sketches in *Who's Who*, of the twenty-eight bishops, 85% were college graduates, but only 25% were graduates of theological seminaries, when they entered the regular ministry. Of the twelve bishops 85% were college graduates and 9% seminary graduates. These men have been singled out by their denominations as qualified for high office, and many of them are eminent as authors, educators or eloquent preachers. They received their theological training by following these prescribed "conference course of study" under the direction of committees and while in the ministerial harness.

In this course scientific training is almost ignored; physics, chemistry, biology, the new psychology and research are not required for

entrance. Formulated originally in a primitive state of society and gradually improved, the course may have been sufficient in connection with practical training, but to-day contains some obsolete elements. Notwithstanding the fruitage of the system, the obvious difficulties—the omission of science, the antiquated text-books, the lack of class-room work and the frequent incompetency of examining boards who pass upon the work of the four years, as well as the dangers of early and easy success, afford vast room for improvement. The Methodist denominations have in late years allowed credit to ministerial candidates for work done in the seminary, and during the past five years the M. E. Church, South, has well systematized its work into correspondence courses, correlated with the one theological seminary at Vanderbilt University. It is folly for sectarists who excuse the present seminary methods to cast ridicule upon this practical training system of the Methodists, since there are scores of prominent Congregational, Episcopal and Presbyterian pulpits occupied by former Methodist preachers, the product of this system. Both this and the seminary plan are wanting, but upon the basis of fruitage the more practical has been the more effective in this country. We have, in the case of the bishops, some evidence that where the man has college training and the ability to study alone, to him the seminary is not essential to success. As far back as 1847-1848 this question was raised. In commenting then in his report upon the lamentable falling off of students of divinity at Harvard, President Everett said the cause was "perhaps in a growing opinion that academic training, however well adapted to form students and professors of theology is not the best preparation for pastors of churches." This old problem has not been solved by the seminaries and to-day, more than ever before, the inadaptation of the seminary and its need of change in method and in its venerable curriculum is manifest.

The decrease in ministerial gains is partly due to the diminishing number of students in theological seminaries. "No one can question this general decrease during the past decade," declared President Harper in 1905. President Perry, at the convention of the Religious Education Association, 1905, said: "There has been an absolute decline in the number of students for the ministry in our Protestant churches, a decline chiefly in college students, and among these chiefly from the older, larger and richer Eastern institutions." In order to

present to the eye the actual numerical status of the seminaries I have constructed tables I and II from data contained in United States Education Reports.

TABLE, I.

Professional Schools in the United States. Theological Students.

	(No. 1) Gain. 1874–1901.	(No. 3,) Total. 1893–1894.	(No. 4.) Total. 1898–1899.	(No. 5.) Total. 1903–1904.	Number of schools, 1904.
Presbyterian,	53%	1,375	1,443	1,035	23
Baptist,	60%	1,101	1,186	1,173*	13
Lutheran,	124%	938	984	843	21
Methodist,	150%	924	1,133	922	18
Congregationalist,	21%	626	490	421	10
Protestant Episcopal,	23%	444	409	381	13
Unitarian,		42	26	27	1
		5,450	5,671	4,802	99
Catholic,	48%	1,250	1,994	1,673	28
Others,		958	596	917	26
		7,658	8,261	7,392	153

*Including 222 summer students in University of Chicago in 1903.

TABLE II.

Comparative Summary.

	(No. 2.) Increase since 1880.	(Nos. 3, 4, 5,) Students. 1893-1894.	1898-1899.	1903-1904.	(No. 2.) College graduates.	Schools.	(No. 2.) Value of Buildings and Endowments
Law,	356%	7,311	11,874	14,306	18%	95	$3,911,800
Medical,	126%	21,802	23,778	26,949	7%	152	15,654,679
Theological,	41%	7,658	8,261	7,392	24%	153	35,726,736

No. 1, U. S. Education Reports, 1900-'1, page 1735. No. 2, 1904, page 1588. No. 3, 1893, pages 141-2. No. 4, 1898-'9, pages 1675-'7. No. 5, 1904-'5 (advance sheets), pages 1632-1639.

We do not include correspondence schools of theology, which are numerous. Rev. Jesse L. Cuninggim presents a list of these schools in the report of the Religious Education Association (1905). For example, the University of Chicago and the Vanderbilt University offer correspondence courses in theology acceptable in part for a degree. Our tables do not include students prosecuting courses in

theology under the direction of ecclesiastical bodies, nor students pursuing partial theological courses in sectarian colleges, from which many go directly into the ministry.

The table I refers only to the regular theological seminaries, of which there were 153 in the United States. It makes clear (1) the relative increase in seminary students for different denominational groups in the period, 1874-1901; (2) the almost uniform decrease in students from 1894-1904, for seven prominent denominations; (3) the number of seminaries. The number of women in theological seminaries reduces even more our totals of men preparing for the ministry. In 1902 there were *108;* in 1903, *166;* in 1904, *187* women in the seminaries, chiefly in those of the Disciples or Christians, Baptists and Methodists.

Table II shows the comparative increase of students in the different professional schools; the law schools exhibit the most rapid gains, while theological schools the least since 1880. There are more medical students than either law or theological, and the percentage of college graduates (7%) among them is lowest in the scale. The problem of medical education presents a rich field for investigation, and there is reason to believe it would not be difficult to tear away the mask that hides widespread ignorance in the medical profession. The percentage of college graduates among seminary students is highest (24%). All of these percentages evince low grade entrance requirements in most professional schools.[1]

The seminaries exhibit the highest valuation of buildings and endowment, very much distributed amongst 153 institutions. There are rich churches and struggling missions; so there are wealthy seminaries and many poor ones. It appears that altogether with the greatest number of schools, the heaviest investment of capital and the largest proportion of graduate-students, the seminaries accommodate less students than either the law or medical schools, and, judging only by the degrees, they receive the best equipped material.[2]

[1]Report of U. S. Commission of Education, issued since above tables were constructed modify the figures.

[2] Since the above lines were written, Prof. Ernest D. Burton (*Biblical World*, June, 1907) has published the results of his investigation upon the supply of educated men for the ministry. His statistics refer to "fifty-eight of the leading theological schools of the United States, covering a period of approximately a quarter-

At the close of the eighteenth century with the growth and secularizing of the colleges, it was thought necessary to establish special institutions for theological training, although private institutions for this purpose had long been in existence. In New Jersey the seminary of the Reformed Dutch church in America was founded in 1784; St. Mary's in Baltimore in 1791. Those dissenting from the union of the Associate and the Reformed presbyteries founded a seminary in 1782 at Service, Pa. The Associate Reformed synod opened a theological school in 1805. In 1808 New England Congregationalists opened a theological school at Andover. In 1812 the General Assembly of the Presbyterian church founded the Princeton Theological Seminary. In 1815 Hartwick, the oldest Lutheran seminary in this country, was opened. In 1817 the Protestant Episcopal church established the General Seminary in New York. In 1820 the Baptists opened Hamilton Theological Seminary, afterward a department of Colgate University. The Reformed Church in the United States founded a theological seminary at Carlisle, Pa., in 1825. The Presbyterians opened the McCormick Theological Seminary at Chicago in 1833. In 1839 the Methodists opened their first seminary, afterwards a department of Boston University. In 1859, what has now the largest attendance of any isolated seminary in the United States, the Southern Baptist Theological Seminary at Louisville, Ky., was founded. The Southern Methodists opened the Biblical Department of Vanderbilt in 1875. The large majority of seminaries were founded before 1875, a growth paralleled by the increase of sectarianism. The multiplication of these schools was partly due to the necessity of better ministerial preparation with the increasing demands upon the ministry of a new civilization — but also to the desire to perpetuate peculiar denominational views. When men could not agree in detail upon credal dogma, they frequently split into sects which founded seminaries to teach their own peculiar views. In 1907 demand for better preparation of ministers is more urgent than ever, and the valuation of sectarian differ-

century. In this list are included practically all which are intended primarily for college graduates." He notes the facts that these schools taken together had in 1881, 2,150 students; that in the next nine years they gained in round numbers 1,000 students; in the next five years, 850 students; that in the twelve years since that period ; they have lost over 700 students "that we are now apparently about at a standstill, neither gaining markedly or losing."

ences is diminishing; these two tendencies signify the failure of the seminaries to meet the modern religious situation, and the removal of a prime motive of institutions founded to perpetuate differences of opinion regarding the Christian faith.

A relic of the cloister is the widespread feeling that schools for the ministry should be apart from the walks of men, in quietude, and divorced from the mental activities of science and business. The tendency is manifested in the geographical isolation of the seminary. A large proportion of the seminaries are in the small towns or in suburban retreats — and even where they are correlated with universities in the large centres the theologues are often a distinct social class, somewhat exclusive and often designated by other students by means of various nicknames. Scores of law schools are in our cities; they have classes late in the day, and at night, to accommodate young men who earn their living as they study. They are in constant, grimy contact with the industrial and social situation and are a part of it. If the theologues and the law students could exchange (for an experiment) their buildings, hours, occupations, and comfortable dormitories, for the bee-hive boarding houses, and the crowded quarters of city law schools, the results might prove startling.

Dr. Parsons designates as a third step in the improvement of the theological education in this country, of which the rise of the independent seminaries was the second, the recognition of the disadvantages of isolation (28). The disadvantage appears when we regard the great universities abroad, in some of which theology is the leading faculty. In a brief consideration of these I shall quote and paraphrase liberally Frederich Paulsen's admirable work, "*The German Universities and University Study*," newly translated by Frank Thilly and W. W. Erlang (1906).

The theological faculty became dominant in Germany because formerly theological interests controlled the entire trend of knowledge, and under the Reformation influence demand for theological education of the clergy won the day, which was the result of the Protestant principle of accentuating the idea of doctrine and its purity, and which placed the emphasis on preaching instead of liturgy. "The universities originated as a union of 'technical' schools for ecclesiastics, jurists and physicians, to which divisions the faculty of arts was related as a general preparatory school until, during the nineteenth cen-

tury, it also assumed something of the character of a professional institution for the training of teachers" . . . . and under the influence of the social-industrial evolution new vocations calling for university training were added to the "learned" vocations. The schools of technology are separated from the universities in which are usually four faculties — Theology, Law, Medicine and Philosophy. As the heir of the church, the state has assumed control of instruction and academic examinations and degrees. From a legal point of view the professors of theology are state officials just as much as those of other faculties. But they nevertheless stand in indissoluble relation to the church; it is their function to equip the clergy of a particular church with the education demanded by their calling. The peculiar condition exists in Germany that the servants of the church receive their education in state institutions from state officials. As the growing estrangement of church and state continues, this arrangement, says Paulsen, becomes more delicate. The Protestant churches demand uniform influence in the appointments to theological professorships, and it is held intolerable that the church should have no sort of assurance against the possibility of students of theology receiving their education and consequently an anti-ecclesiastical bias from unbelieving instructors. While freedom in teaching is the acknowledged characteristic of German universities, this is not without conflict and dispute, where scientific research comes in contact with the public authorities, the state and the church, where it deals with religious and political and social affairs (29).

The religious situation in the universities of Germany is not wholly an edifying model for our country. There the governmental and social conditions are different. There is far-reaching Catholic control in the universities of Bonn, Breslau, Munster, Münich, Würxburg, Tübingen and Freiburg, in addition to Catholic seminaries; conflicting Catholic factions oppose or favor the faculties; there is persistent and definite effort to bring Protestant theology under control, and there is the tremendous increase of the Jewish element in university life, which in Baden has quadrupled its attendance since the founding of the New German Empire, while the Catholics have but doubled theirs and the Evangelicals increased theirs by one-half. According to Lassen, quoted by Paulsen (p. 157), for each 1,000,000 of the male population of each denomination there were respectively

35 Catholic docents, 106.5 Evangelical, and 698.9 Jewish; and of ordinary professors 16.9 Catholic, 33.5 Evangelical, and 65.5 Jewish. Aside from anti-semitism, declares Paulsen, here is a real and difficult problem in the threatened monopolization of the learned professions by the Jewish population, who are residents of the cities, well-to-do, desirous of improving their social position, and to whom the military career is closed.

Freedom from restrictions has its dangers. "A certain mania for peculiar and extravagant ideas is manifest in many quarters (p 414). . . . . The loudest and shrillest opposition to everything which was formerly esteemed is certain to attract the largest following.

". . . . Think of *Rembrandt als Erziehr*, of Max Nordau, Tolstoi and Nietzsche. . . . . A new generation as distrustful of reason as the former had been of faith, turned to science with the expectation that exact research would place us upon a sure footing and supply us with a true theory of the world. But that science cannot do. It is becoming more and more evident that it does not realize an all-comprehensive world-view that will satisfy both feeling and imagination (p.67). The chief bond uniting the followers of Nietzsche is, after all, this unbelief in science; periods of doubt are always the easiest prey to charlatans. . . . Who will not think of Nietzsche, the *Unzeitgemässe*, who felt the call to brush away the mould of German educational Philistinism and the rubbish of academic life, who applies the hammer to all the heroes of the past, and then with derisive laughter breaks them all into pieces, the empty and hollow forms? And following in his wake we see the whole swarm of false geniuses, who, without a spark of the master's genius, imitate his unrestraint" (269-271). Such are the false and deceptive notions of freedom, which degenerate into license and nurture upstarts."

There is also found in Germany too narrow specialization; there are professors who are encyclopædias of knowledge but unutterable bores in the class-room. There are distinguished professors in Germany who unduly dilute and popularize their regular lectures in order to attract throngs of students, from the fees of whom the professors mainly derive income. There are barbaric student codes of "honor" and the survival of the duel, admirably described by Hart and by Paulsen and a score of other things intolerable in democratic and Protestant America. In these days of seizing upon what is educationally new, it is well for reformers to examine with caution what may be too easily swallowed whole. But notwithstanding the unfavorable aspects which I have tried not to underestimate in a glance at the German system, our country has learued much from these German institutions. Prof. Thilly says (*ibid.* VIII): "The German plan is

not perfect, of course, . . . at the same time it seems to me that the Germans are much more careful and impartial in their choice and maintain a higher standard than we do. Local, personal, and political and sectarian influences are stronger with us than with them. . . . Appointments are frequently made in the United States, even in good universities, which 'outsiders' do not understand and the initiated only too well." He notes our system of one-man power which exists in many of our institutions, the interferences of governing boards, the influence of politics and the denominations, the unhealthful pressure sometimes exerted by the fear of losing appropriations — whatever may be the causes and excuses for the conditions, "the truth is there is more 'paternalism' in the universities in this free country than in those of military Germany."

The chief distinguishing mark of the German universities seems to be freedom in teaching, and the emphasis on research. To the former Prof. Paulsen attributes the wonderful advance which has been made in higher education during the nineteenth century. In addition to these the German University gives instruction in all the higher branches of professional and general knowledge. "Like the English universities it offers a broad and deep course of instruction in the arts and sciences. This is the special province of the philosophical faculty. Like the French faculties, it offers technical instruction for the learned professions in that it trains the clergy, judges and higher officers of administration, physicians and high-school teachers. But it is, in addition, what the English and French universities are not, namely, the most important seat of scientific work in Germany, and the nursery of scientific investigation. . . . The important thing is not the student's preparation for a practical calling, but his introduction into scientific knowledge and research. . . This intimate union of investigation and instruction gives the German university its peculiar character" (p. 4). In England the real instruction is usually left to fellows and tutors; there, research is a private affair. In France the investigators belong to the Academy, may deliver public lectures, but are not the actual daily teachers. In Germany all university professors, it is assumed, are investigators and scholars and teachers. Closely allied with research is the seminar, where under the direction of a scientific man the students meet for co-operation, discussion and criticism. The best American universities represent a combination of the English

and German types; in few is original investigation the main object of attention and labor.

The theological seminaries of the United States, as a class, are entirely remote from the practice of intellectual freedom and of research, as are the colleges, which mainly have instruction for their aim. The unpreparedness of ministerial candidates in the past may have forced the seminaries of the United States into elementary work, but undoubtedly conservatism and adherence to sectarian tenets are very influential factors in quarantining the seminary from university methods. Since Catholicism rests upon the principle of absolute authority, opposition to anything but obedience to the church is to be expected from it, but opposing this infallibility of authority, Protestantism should appeal to the convictions of individuals, must not unduly restrict faith, conscience, investigation and science. Paulsen observes, speaking of the situation in Germany: "There can be no doubt that Protestant theology would suffer both in power and significance if it were placed under the control of the church and her organs." (p. 139.)

Somewhat in keeping with this principle is the tendency of some seminaries in the United States to affiliate closely with universities. This step is a commendable movement away from the complete academic isolation of the independent seminaries. For instance, the Episcopal Theological School at Cambridge, Mass., enjoys many of the advantages of Harvard, the Episcopal Divinity School at Philadelphia shares advantages offered by the University of Pennsylvania; Union and the General Theological Seminary in New York, those offered by Columbia and New York Universities; Yale Divinity School is progressive and in close affiliation with departments of Yale; in the South, the theological school is a regular department of Vanderbilt; in the West the University of Chicago has its extensive departments of divinity. Many universities, which are in reality only colleges, have theological adjuncts. The affiliation with universities does not imply a loss of identity by the seminaries, or a wide deviation in many instances from time-honored seminary methods. And it is important to note that the majority of theological seminaries remain isolated in location as well as academically. In measuring the influence of these institutions as a whole upon the churches, it should be remembered that some of the older and famous institutions annually contribute a very small proportion of the yearly large output of minis-

terial graduates. In the year 1904 there were 1,620 graduates, of whom more than 75% were Protestants. To this number Harvard Divinity School contributed 7 men, Yale 26, Union (N. Y.) 31, Hartford 18, Andover 5, Newton 19, Episcopal (Cambridge) 12, Bangor 7, Seminary of Reformed Church in America (N. J.) 12, Meadville 6.

More than two-thirds of the seminaries offer free tuition to all students, and some of them advertise this and other pecuniary aid as inducements to attract students. Of 95 schools of law, 7 give free tuition, and of 152 medical schools, 6 offer free tuition. The policy of indiscriminate aid is different in principle from the awarding of scholarships or fellowships as a reward of merit, or to encourage investigation, or for which some adequate return is made, and the seminary practice is therefore capable of inculcating a spineless dependence.

The University of the State of New York issued in 1899 a detailed summary of every one of the seminaries in the United States (39). This carefully prepared exhibit shows that at this time of 165 theological schools in 30 political divisions (omitting 24 that report no theological schools, and including colonial possessions) "101 admit men only: 64 admit both men and women; 73 grant degrees; 46 are departments of universities or colleges, and 13 have affiliated relations; only 8 have a matriculation fee, 33 a course fee, and 34 other fees; 71 require a college degree for admission, 3 the completion of junior year, 18 the freshman year, 19 a three years' high school course, 6 a two years', 1 a one year's, 19 a common school, 4 have none and 24 are not given.

A comparison of the average length of the courses of study of the seminaries in the United States for the years 1874 and 1904 shows 3 years 1 month for the former, and 2 years 11 months for the latter. The majority of the Protestant seminaries have a course of three years, and many offer the option of prolonged courses.

Rev. Dr. C. A. Briggs wrote as follows in 1892 (28): "The course in theology is still very defective in the great majority of theological schools . . . . but no one can deny real and great progress. . . . . The backbone of theological training is still Hebrew exegesis, Greek exegesis, Church history, Systematic theology, Pastoral theology and homiletics. . . The scientific method is beginning to revolutionize theological education, but this movement is only in its beginnings."

During the past fifteen years the scientific leaven has been at work and more than a dozen seminaries have introduced marked improvements in their courses and methods. Sociology, psychology, modern pedagogy and the comparative study of religions have penetrated pro-

gressive institutions, but on the whole the theological curriculum is sadly in need of revision. Gleaning from recent catalogues, or those of last year (1905), there follows an outline of all the subjects offered in typical institutions of the different denominations. The phraseology of the catalogues and the names of the courses are copied verbatim, so far as possible. No attempt is made to distinguish the electives from the prescribed courses, the aim being to give a general view of all that enters into the seminary curriculum. It is to be noted that the University of Chicago Divinity School, in affiliation with the University, affords a considerable range of electives. Since the above compilation was made, Yale Divinity School has taken a commendable and progressive stand. Beginning with the academic year 1907-'08, the studies of the Divinity School will be grouped into three courses, each leading to the degree of B. D., and known as the Historical, the Philosophical and the Practical courses. The study of Hebrew will be required only in the Historical course.

Crozer, Baptist, Pa. Old and New Testament Literature, History and Exegesis and Criticism, Hebrew, Greek, and Aramic. English New Testament. Biblical, Systematic and Practical Theology. Church History. Psychology of Religious Experience. Christian Ethics. Ethics of Public Questions. Principles of Pedagogy. History and Comparison of Religions. Missions. Music. Electives in the University of Pa.

Divinity Schools of University of Chicago (Baptist).

1. *Graduate Divinity School.* Old and New Testament Literature and Interpretation. Hebrew, Rabbinical, Assyrian, Arabic, Egyptian Languages, Literature, History and Archæology. Linguistic, Critical, Exegetical, Archæological and Historical courses. Biblical and Patristic Greek. Documents. Criticism. Historical Introductions. Interpretation of New Testament. The Life of Jesus Christ. History of New Testament (manuscripts, canon, interpretation, criticism). Biblical and Systematic Theology. Church History. Homiletics and Pastoral Duties. Ecclesiastical Sociology. Public Speaking. Physical Culture. Music. Departments of the University are open to divinity students.

2. *English Theological Seminary.* Old and New Testament Literature and Interpretation. Systematic Theology. Church History. Homiletics and Pastoral Duties. Public Speaking. Music.

3. *Non-residence Correspondence Courses.*

4. *Allied Organizations. Disciples' Divinity House.* History. Doctrine. Ideas of Union, Place, Mission, Problems. Literature of the Disciples or followers of Campbell and Stone. *Cumberland Presbyterian Divinity House* (courses not named).

(The Scandinavian, Swedish Seminaries omitted.)

Union Theological Seminary, Presbyterian, New York. Biblical Philology, and Exegesis, Hebrew and Greek. Biblical Theology. Old and New Testament.

Church History. Philosophy and History of Religion. Apologetics. Systematic Theology. Christian Ethics. Practical Theology. (Homiletics. Missions. English Bible.) Theological Encyclopædia and Symbolics. German Theological Literature. Vocal Music. Physical Training. Electives in Columbia and in New York Universities.

General Theological Seminary, Pretestant Episcopal, New York. Old and New Testament. Hebrew. Greek. Exegesis. Dogmatic and Pastoral Theology. Ecclesiastical History, Polity and Law. Evidences of Revealed and Natural Religion. Ethics. Ecclesiastical Music. Elocution. Electives in Columbia University.

Princeton Theological Seminary, Presbyterian, New Jersey. The Relation of Philosophy and Science to the Christian Religion. Old and New Testaments, Hebrew, Greek. Biblical and Church History. Biblical, Systematic, Ecclesiastical Homiletical and Pastoral Theology. English Bible. Missions. Rhetorical Exercises in Sermonizing. Extra curriculum courses in Semitic Philology and Textual Criticism.

Garrett Biblical Institute, Methodist Episcopal, Illinois. Historical and Practical Theology. Christian Doctrine. Sociology. Sacred Rhetoric. Old and New Testaments (languages, history and interpretation), Hebrew, Greek and Semitic Languages. Exegesis. Elocution. Privileges at Northwestern University.

Augustana Theological Seminary, Evangelican Lutheran, Illinois. Tuition free. Propædeutics. Philosophy. Systematic, Exegetical, Historical and Practical Theology, Greek, Hebrew and Semitic Languages. Post-graduate courses.

Lutheran Theological Seminary, Pa. Hebrew. Exegetical, Systematic,Biblical, Historical and Pastoral Theology. Homiletics. Chaldee. Greek. Missions. Sunday Schools. Lectures on Hermeneutics, Polity, Catechetics, Symbolics, Liturgics. Elocution.

College of the Bible, Disciples or Christians, Drake University, Iowa. Evidences. History. Doctrine. Hebrew and Semitic Languages and Literature. Doctrine of Paul. New Testament Greek. Exegesis and Criticism. Preaching and Manual Employment. Correspondence Courses.

Drew Theological Seminary, Methodist Episcopal, New Jersey. Old and New Testament Exegesis, Hebrew, Greek, Historical, Systematic and Practical Theology. Biblical Literature and the English Bible. Music and Hymnology. Vocal Culture. Christian Doctrine. Seminar. Advanced Study.

Biblical Dep't, Vanderbilt University, Methodist Episcopal, South. Tennessee. Old and New Testament Languages and Literature, Hebrew and Greek. Biblical Theology and English Exegesis. Church History. Systematic and Practical Theology. Practical Sociology. Religious Education, including psychological and pedagogical theory. Public Speaking. Missions. Vocal Music. Correspondence School. Lectures. University Privileges.

Southern Baptist Theological Seminary, Kentucky. Biblical Introduction. Old and New Testament Interpretation, Hebrew, Greek. Systematic Theology. Comparative Religion and Missions. Homiletics and Elocution. Church History. Ecclesiology. Pastoral Duties. Special courses in Old Testament, in Theology, Comparative Religion and Missions, and in Church History. Lectures.

Presbyterian Theological Seminary of Kentucky. Apologetics. Biblical Introduction. Old and New Testament Exegesis, Hebrew, Greek. English Bible and

Biblical Theology. Church History. Systematic and Pastoral Theology. Homiletics. Elocution. Church Polity. Special courses.

Episcopal Theological School, Mass. Old and New Testament, Hebrew, Assyrian, Greek Exegesis. Criticism. Introduction and History. Systematic Divinity. Christian Ethics. Liturgics. Homiletics. Pastoral Theology. Canon Law. Privileges at Harvard.

Chicago Seminary, Congregational, Illinois. Old and New Testament Literature and Interpretation, Hebrew, Greek, Assyriology, and Comparative Religion. Ecclesiastical History. Systematic and Pastoral Theology. Homiletics. Christian Sociology. Public Speaking. Sacred Music. Missions. Physical Training. Social Settlement. German, Danish, Norwegian and Swedish Institutes. Lectures.

Theological Seminary, Reformed Church in America, N. J. Old and New Testaments. Exegetical Theology. Hebrew, Greek Exegesis. Historical, Systematic and Practical Theology. Homiletics. Liturgics. Polemics. Archaics. Pedagogy Sociology. English Bible. Domestic and Foreign Missions.

Yale Divinity School, Congregational, Conn. Old and New Testament Literature and History. Hebrew, Greek Exegesis. Biblical, Systematic and Practical Theology. Church History. Christian Pedagogy and Church Administration. Christian Sociology. Semitic Languages and Philology. Archæology. Biblical. Literature. Elocution. Missions. Music. Electives in Yale University.

Andover, Congregational, Mass. Old and New Testaments, Hebrew, Greek. Cognate Languages. Biblical, Church and Doctrinal History. Systematic, New Testament and Practical Theology. Homiletics. Elocution. History of Religion and Ethics. Psychology of Religious Experience. Christian Social Ethics. Foreign Missions. Congregational Polity. Church Music, etc. Practical experience in church work.

Meadville, Unitarian, Pa. Encyclopædia and Methodology. Old and New Testaments, Hebrew, Greek. Church History. Comparative Religion. Philosophy, Psychology, and the Philosophy of Religion. Sociology and Ethics. Homiletics. English Composition and Literature. Ancient and Modern Languages. Elocution and Vocal Music. Lectures.

The objection to these courses of study is the preponderance of theology in its various divisions, of languages, Hebrew, Greek exegesis and of history. Where Greek is not taught as a regular subject, a knowledge of the language for purposes of exegesis is generally assumed. The student, if fresh from a first-class college and scientific preparation, aglow with inspiration, suffers a shock. Instead of full treatment of the subjects of vital and fascinating interest, biology, psychology, sociology, literature, political economy and philosophy, he is forced to grind at the elements of dead languages. The late Moderator of the Congregational National Council, Amory H. Bradford, D. D., speaking of the study of Hebrew says in the May *Independent* (1906), "The theological seminaries have made and are making an idol of the Hebrew language. They are responsible for a waste of an enormous

amount of time and offering only a shadow in compensation. They are ignoring the fact that almost, if not quite, the entire Hebrew literature has already been translated in a way which will never be surpassed. . . . Most of the ministers of the present and of the past know next to nothing of the Hebrew language. They would not use it if they knew it." That it honors the Bible, that the study is needed as an intellectual exercise, that the study is necessary in order that the Christian teacher may be properly equipped as an interpreter of the Book—these are the hackneyed and exploded excuses given for this idol-worship. Compulsory attention to the study of Hebrew is a relic of the mediæval day. It dishonors the Bible by the slipshod methods of those who cannot possibly gain more than a smattering of the language, and inculcates the hypocrisy of learning, for men know well that the scholarly translators who worked for years preparing the English versions did better than the cramming theologue can do after a forced study of two or three years' duration. Linguistic zeal often produces pathetic results. I asked a Doctor of Philosophy, a teacher of classics, for his opinion of Aristotle's Ethics. In all seriousness he answered that he could translate the "stuff." "*But what! Do you think I make any effort to understand the philosophy of Aristotle?*" It is said that Emerson claimed he would as soon swim the Charles River every time he went from Cambridge to Boston as to read the ancient classics in the original. A close inspection of the catalogues discloses that too much of the student's time in the three years is consumed by things which common sense, experience and pedagogy demonstrate to be utterly inadequate for the training of men capable of meeting the moral and religious crises of modern times.

Where sociology has been introduced it is too often of the text-book variety or taught only one or two hours a week. Miss Herzfeld has just published the result of an investigation of 24 families living in West Side of New York (21). Her Monograph gives exact insight into the details of these families: such as nationality, descent, residence, tenements, assimilation, mental traits, reading, art, music, "rackets," and balls, dissipation, superstitions, beliefs, and practices about pregnancy, child-birth, lactation, etc., christening, weddings, funerals, deaths, attitudes towards church, physicians, hospitals, police, politics, relations to neighbors, wages, occupations, trades, unions, and benefit societies, industries, idleness, family expenditures, savings,

insurance, typical apartment, housekeeping, moving, relations between husband and wife, parents and children and kinsfolk. At least familiarity with investigations of this kind might open the eyes of seminary professors and students to the fact that far-reaching moral reform cannot be brought about by street singing and preaching or the visiting of prisons or bawdy houses by well-intentioned but callow youths. Even settlement work in preference to actual participation in the labors and hardships of industrial toilers is open to objections. Where curiosity seekers and the blasè looking for degenerate excitement, or overcertain spectacled youths and busy, elderly maiden ladies pry into humble homes without the slightest regard for the feelings of the occupants, whom they erroneously look upon as a distinct species of genus homo, trouble follows. It is reported that in some tenement houses of the East Side, Manhattan, signs have been hung in the halls forbidding entrance "to peddlers, slummers and sociologists," one class being regarded as much of a nuisance as the other.

The comparative study of religions by means of excellent translations is more fruitful than perfunctory grinding at dead languages, and this study is insufficiently represented in the seminary course. Max Mueller (26) points out that the comparative study of religions places in clear light certain general truths; first: the inevitable decay to which every religion is exposed; even the most perfect suffers from contact with the world, if without reformation. Secondly, religions in ancient form or in the minds of their authors are generally free from the blemishes acquired in later times. Thirdly, there is hardly one religion that does not contain some important truth sufficient to enable those who seek the Lord to find him in time of need. Fourth, we shall learn to appreciate better than ever what we have in our own religion. "No one who has not examined patiently and honestly the other religions can know what Christianity really is," he says. To these excellent reasons may be added the practical and modifying effect of the comparison of religions upon some methods of foreign missionary effort which consumes much of the energy of our churches; and also the fact that evolutionists find in the religious phenomena of peoples common traits and bonds of unity. "All rites and ceremonies and beliefs and all history are the outward expression, the typology of the human soul, unexplored and inexhaustible in its possibilities and grandeur," declares one writer.

Psychology in its latest devolopments is almost an unknown quantity in conservative seminaries. The well-explored psychology of religious experience illuminates, as never before, conviction, repentance, conversion, forgiveness, and discloses the dangers and the symptoms of pathological religious states, and transvaluates neglected realities into terms of racial import. A more general knowledge of this subject as discussed by Starbuck (36), Coe (12), Hall (18), and James (21a) would revolutionize many mission, revival and Sunday school methods.

It would be an easy task to multiply profitable subjects to take the place of obsolete courses now used in ministerial preparation. Pedagogy used to be the delight and monopoly of the didactic pedant. The new science of experimental pedagogy or education, while in some instances swinging too far from old models, is endeavoring to place the problem of the training of childhood and youth upon a scientific basis, as for example in the works of Lay and of Meumann and of Binet. In the matter of school hygiene, mental and physical, progress has been made by investigators who lead the way to vast reform. The construction, heating, lighting and ventilation of school buildings have been improved; trained nurses have been introduced into the New York schools; medical inspection of school children is disclosing and remedying in early life hitherto neglected causes of a harvest of physical and mental evil; factors such as impaired nutrition, enlarged glands, chorea, cardiac disease, pulmonary disease, skin disease, deformities of spine, chest or extremities, defective vision or hearing, deficient nasal breathing, defective teeth, deformed palate, hypertrophied tonsils, posterior nasal growths, deficient mentality, all factors of significance to the individual and to the community. A report prepared under the direction of Dr. William H. Burnham, June, 1906, contains a succinct sketch of the present status and practice of school hygiene in the United States (8). This science should not be neglected by any one who would lead in the moral and intellectual training of children, and it needs especially to have the attention of leaders in the Sunday school work, many of whom are elected to responsibilities, who have never enjoyed the briefest training in this subject and its greater parent, child study.

The scientific study of children has progressed far beyond the knowledge of the average minister and teacher, and already offers

certain indisputable results which, if utilized, will make child and adult life happier, and will bring momentous changes, both in the home and in the schools. The school and training should be adapted to the child, rather than the reverse, when child-nature is distorted into the rigid mold of some pedagogic system or of ignorance. Health guarded by the rules of hygiene; habits of healthful activity; the full development of the fundamental muscles without premature diversion of activity into the accessory and more complex members; emancipation from fear; attention until the age of about ten to nature study in nature rather than in books, and to mother's stories; wholesome nutrition with care against the acquisition of perverted tastes; abundant sleep, and moral habituation are better than the neglect and slow starvation of the child of poverty, or the neglect and sensual indulgence of children in the home of luxury, better than subservience to the exactions of educational fads, the intricate tasks of the unreformed kindergarten, or than the forced interest in doctrinal teaching and the memorizing of texts.[1] The new translation from the Danish of Carl Ewald's booklet, "My Little Boy," sets forth in pleasing style the new meaning of childhood, and is an excellent utensil for conveying the love of child study to the parent or teacher or minister. The numerous articles by Burnham, such works as those of Preyer, of Shinn, the summary by Tanner, the works of Hall, of Hodge, Chamberlain, and of Haslett, should bear a wealth of fruit in the mind of the young minister, put him into touch with new forces, making for human development; and with such new power the strong arm of the ministry would be equipped to render valiant service to the cause of the children and the race. Why preach at all the doctrines of Christ if in permitting the souls and bodies of children to remain in the grasp of customs and men that destroy them, Christian people violate the cardinal injunction, "Suffer little children to come unto me, and forbid them not. . ." ? The pioneer leader in child study in America thus wrote in 1903:

"At first child study passed through a period of criticism such as few scientific movements in the modern world, save evolution alone, have had to sustain. It had, too, a host of camp followers who had little conception of its meaning and no idea

[1] A lengthy bibliography of child study is prepared annually by Dr. Louis N. Wilson, of Clark University, Worcester, Mass.

of its severity of scientific method, and who offered many very vulnerable points of attack. Some four or five years ago, when the critics were loudest and most aggressive, many superficial observers thought the movement dead. But it has spread to department after department. In insanity it has given us the new studies of dementia præcox; has almost re-created the department of juvenile criminology; furnished a new method for studying the most important problems of philology . . . . has revolutionized and almost re-created school hygiene; made adolescence, a strange word ten years ago, one of the most pregnant and suggestive for both science and education; given us the basis of a new religious psychology; and laid the foundation for a new and larger philosophy and psychology of the future, based not on the provincial study of a cross section of the adult mind, but on a broad, genetic basis. The few able psychological and philosophical professors, who still refuse to accept it, as Agassiz did evolution, will not escape the same kind of criticism meted out to him" (18).

The study of adolescence is of equal importance to the minister with that of child study, as it is particularly the age of marked physical and mental changes. It is unfortunate, also, for a physician of souls to be ignorant of certain parallelisms between sexual and religious abnormalities, and between love and religion. President Hall, in *Adolescence* sums up his reasons for emphasizing this parallelism and gives an extensive bibliography on the subject. We must at least admit that the sexual instinct plays a profound rôle in every phase of life, whether in matrimony, social relations, business, art, poetry, or religions. Some knowledge here seems indispensable for an understanding of certain religious experiences. A minister is sadly inequipped who is not prepared to combat and vanquish with facts the freak religionists, free-love cultists and the quacks, to solve the problems which take deep root in perversions of fundamental animal instinct, or to act as an intelligent counsellor.

The seminary student could find in the science of hypnotism a profitable field for study and abundant reason exists why he should enter it. The history of the precursors of hypnotism, as recorded by Bérillon (3) and Bramwell (6), discloses the evolution of the science and records the constantly occurring recrudescences of error and superstition. To-day, in the United States, hypnotism is mainly in the hands of charlatans, but the time is not distant when its moral, social and educational significance will be clearly apparent. Stratton declares that imitation, suggestion and hypnotism are at bottom one; Binet's and Small's experiments demonstrate the remarkable susceptibility of school children to suggestion; Bérillon proves the potency of its pedagogic application in the treatment of vicious and degenerate children; from Esdaile to Bramwell its surgical and therapeutic use has developed; Verworn recently considers the so-called hypnosis of animals; Ross, the social bearing of suggestion, and to this list may be added the works of Moll, of Forel, of Bechterew and the recent study of Walden. Seashore's experiments in the Yale laboratory, on illusions and hallucinations in normal life, strike at the

core of contentions about "errors of sense," and the force of suggestion, and the so-called "occult" phenomena of mind-reading, crystal vision, apparitions, telepathy and hypnotism (34).

Suggestion is the active principle operative in the costly advertisements of quack doctors who prey upon the credulous and the conscience smitten; advertisers depend upon it; the low theatre spreads billboards full of the suggestion of licentiousness. Suggestion is a factor in oratory and in literature. Conditions of suggestibility as well as methods of imparting suggestion are of pregnant interest to those who would prevent evil and do good. It is of vast significance in the sphere of religious experience. If ministers and physicians ten years ago had mastered the science of suggestion, it is improbable that so many thousands of persons, intelligent but lacking in the logical aspect of mind, could have been charmed and held by the vagary of Christian Science. President Hall observed recently, "the throngs of Christian Scientists, who dedicate this week their two million dollar temple, at least teach us that an ugly, venomous toad may carry in his head the precious jewel of truth, small though it be."

Ignorant persons suppose that the terms hypnotism and psychology are synonymous. The manifold phenomena explained by principle of suggestion are fascinating to cranks, aspiring mediocres, to youths at the age of curiosity, and even to honest investigators, some of whom are without the sound biological and scientific training necessary for accurate discrimination between fact and fable, evidence and hearsay. It would be unwise for ministerial candidates to plunge into this subject unless there preceded the course a proper training in modern psychology and biology. Pseudo-psychologists, "psychists," fortune-tellers, spiritualists, mediums and "professors" of hypnotism thrive. The simple procedure to produce hypnosis can be learned quickly by almost any one and involves no "occult" force or unusual gift. Books, written by men who know the art but not the science of hypnotism, and who care nothing for its possible misuse, may be bought for ten cents—and this is the kind of hypnotic literature that is flooding the country. The minister must be able to explain as well as to condemn. Hypnotism has been relegated properly to the physician, but to-day the ancient prestige and mystery attaching to the doctor does not hide his ignorance touching the therapeutic use of suggestion and its allied applications. Not six regular medical colleges in the United States offer adequate courses in suggestion, or in psychology, or even in psychiatry. The mental side of life is neglected by them. The average doctor is eager enough to denounce the Christian Scientist, the Healer, or the Osteopath, and to affirm some value in "suggestion"—but catechize him closely and his ignorance of the subject appears. The failure of the medical profession in the United States, with notable exceptions, to develop this subject, notwithstanding the advanced work of Forel, Bernheim, Wetterstrand and Bramwell abroad, is largely responsible for the growth of religious fads, certain vices, as well as of the patent medicine business—things dependent upon the uninformed, suggestible minds of the populace affected by sug-

gestion in its hydra-headed forms. It is here that the new minister, with unchallengeable information, may find a new vantage point for attack upon pernicious evils, as well as better modes of teaching and influencing men.

Jesus Christ, presented to the world as the one God-Man, challenges and demands the interpretation of modern science and response is not lacking. Destructive to accretions of superstition and ignorance, here hypothetically is offered a basis of faith and a new interpretation of Christianity which promises a higher valuation of Christianity and its Founder, where manuscript-fetichism, complicated exegesis and perversions of natural law and vehement, eloquent assertion, have failed. The psychology of religion, accepting the historical personage of Jesus, after the higher criticism has finished its demolition of gloss and tradition, attributes to Jesus, "the greatest achievement of history —the realization of the full dimensions of the human soul. The externals of history and creed, the outer glories, it finds in the soul of man—and rises above the philosopher who thinks merely of the soul as a ghost, or an aspect, or a cortical spot, or a mirror." For the treatment of miracles and of apologetics it offers a changed but constructive method. When old forms are tottering from the broken columns of literalism and historicity, the psychology of religion denies that all is lost, and declares that new riches are discovered. Room is left for faith and imagination and for the leadings of the heart which is older than the intellect and the organized church. It is not within the province of the new science, however, to have a propaganda. At present it is not milk for babes, and only mature and trained minds can find nourishment therein. Its sphere is within the university and the study, where those qualified to receive its revelations may profit thereby, and carry its results into the world to spread like irrigating streams upon parched soils. "Many things may be wrought out in the study that are not edifying in the pulpit"—is a sentence from a recent Methodist Bishop's Address.

Instructive and inspiring studies like these are needed by candidates for the ministry in order that the disgust at dead languages and the pedagogic paralysis of obsolete methods may be eliminated and the man be prepared to meet opportunities, some of which have been enumerated. It is painful for men to spend years ostensibly in preparation for the ministry of religion and yet be given but a glimpse, and often an unfavorable view, of these new streams of spiritual life,

the water of life for which the world is athirst, that is flooding our universities and percolating to wherever men pause to think. That something is radically wrong in our methods of ministerial training has been recognized for years. Proffered remedies have multiplied as the inadaptation of the seminaries has become more and more glaring. In 1883 and again in 1898, President Eliot offered the following suggestions touching the "surroundings and mental furniture of the minister, not his inspiration" (28).

> First, there are preliminary subjects which every student of theology should be required to master. 1. Languages: Greek (including New Testament Greek), Latin, Hebrew and German. 2. English literature, with practice in writing, and study of style. 3. The elements of psychology. 4. The elements of political economy. 5. Constitutional history or the history of some interesting period of moderate length. 6. Science: botany, zoölogy or geology studied in the field. Having finished the required studies, the candidate for the ministry is ready to enter upon the advanced studies, which may properly be called professional. Since preaching is to be his most important function, he will naturally give a good share of his time to homiletics and the practice of writing and speaking. The other studies which are now included under the comprehensive term "theology" or "divinity" may be grouped as follows: 1. Semitic studies: linguistic, archæologic and historical. 2. New Testament criticism and exegesis. 3. Ecclesiastical history. 4. Comparative religion or historic religions compared. 5. Psychology, ethics and the philosophy of religion. 6. Systematic theology, and the history of Christian doctrine. 7. Charitable and reformatory methods, and the contest of Christian society with licentiousness, intemperance, pauperism and crime. He does not maintain that there is no need of uneducated ministers, or that men of genius are dependent on systematic training or that "sensibility, earnestness and piety are not the most essential qualities."

The proposals of President Eliot in 1898 would have effected far-reaching reform, if they had been adopted fully. The more recent suggestions of Dr. Harper (19) embody practical and better specifications for the improvement of the seminary, and are the most comprehensive and valuable we have seen in print. They embody provisions for a practical division of time and of classes, provide for both contact with men and for poetic seclusion, demand the introduction of science and of research, the elimination of sectarian isolation and dependence upon broad inter-denominational co-operation, and specify other ways of improvement. But in both of these typical plans for reforms, the second of which seems to offer nearly all that is needed, the chief factor in the unfortunate plight of the seminaries is kept in the background. It is the factor that together with the demand for an educated ministry brought the seminaries into existence. The mid-

wife became the nurse, and, now that the youth is full grown, the decrepit and honored attendant — credal sectarianism — is an incumbrance. Academic freedom to investigate, to write and to speak, is the boon that sectarianism has withheld from the seminary, and is withholding from the vast number of them to-day. This prohibition is at the foundation of prescribed courses, obsolete text-books and the fetich of dead languages in our schools for ministerial preparation. A great fear of heresy, of destruction of the old theological standards, a feeling that if these are not maintained religion and morality will decay, persists. And thus the traditional attitude of hostility to investigation, to the recasting of old systems, is preserved, and the constant tendency to fix permanently and unchangeably a standard of authority is manifest in the iron-clad dogmas of the separate sects. Foster (16) points out the inconsistency of this position in the churches that stand for a protest against the letter of Roman Catholicism in the following words: "Between the principle of free investigation — indispensable to science, even to Biblical science — and the principle of an absolute doctrinal authority — indispensable to Catholicism, even to liberal Catholicism — yawns an unbridgeable gulf. . . . But since Protestant orthodoxy likewise recognizes an infallible authority, what is true of Catholicism in this particular is true of it — the principle is the same — and all efforts to conceal or sugar-coat that principle do not mitigate or excuse its moral and scientific offensiveness."

But everything to-day indicates the quaking of this spirit. Confederations, denominational unions are occurring with unprecedented frequency. Sectarianism is sick and with it passes the authority and prohibitions of contradictory standards which oppose investigation and research. A French writer observes: "From the very outset, the solidarity between the Protestant and the scientific spirit is apparent. Both were born at the same time. The Reformation was, in history, a parallel movement to that of the Renaissance, proceeding in the same direction. . . . . To conciliate our science and our faith is the inner and the sacred task which imposes itself upon the conscience of every man who thinks freely and wishes at the same time to be a man of profound morality."

Denominational control and the conservative spirit that tends to turn the face of religionists towards the past will continue, but there are radical changes ahead of us in the manner and scope of this con-

trol. So long as research and freedom of belief and speech are exercised by men of character, truth, the church need not fear its free entrance into the field of ministerial training. The most sweeping suggestion that I can make, therefore, for seminary reform is that we must apply to it the pedagogic maxim "to reform a school first reform the schoolmaster." We would put in charge of theological training men of character, ability and true piety, to whom perfect intellectual freedom should be granted. The elements that have been brought to light in these pages all point to this solution. In its professional aspects the ministry, like other professions, must adapt itself to its environment or suffer dissolution. The mental atmosphere of to-day is one of scientific method, and the religious and social unrest evince the need of better adaptation. In order that more men may be attracted to a vocation where a dearth is growing, the prohibition of deterring limitations and irrational restrictions must be removed. The chaotic status of the pastoral relation, the tension between the ideal and the practical at the breaking point, demand investigation for solution of the problems; and the pastor needs the spirit of freedom in order to discriminate and choose the essential. The social problems, of poverty and luxury, the incongruities within the church demand the vitalizing contact of searching and illuminating methods. While we recognize the peculiar militarism and the social structure of Germany and may profit by the wholesome warnings of the repellant features of the German universities, nevertheless they are, perhaps, the strongest in the world, have at their backbone freedom and research, and it is the introduction of these principles which is revolutionizing the universities of America. True, there are few of these wholly devoted in aim to research, but this is avowedly the goal in our leading institutions.

A few considerations with regard to the practicability of these recommendations to the seminaries, and of its corrolaries, will close this chapter. It is only hoped that these crude suggestions will reveal a plan for the logical and effective solution of the seminary problem. It is unfair to demand of our most conservative institutions, the seminaries, that they adopt more radical changes than our American secular universities have adopted. It is easy enough for the reformer to shout "abolish the seminaries" or "make of them German Universities." The American university is more devoted to instruction than to research. What we desire to suggest are practical first steps in the

remodelling and improvement of our seminaries. Although in its chief aspect the ministry is a vocation, nevertheless it is a profession subject to influencing environment. This the seminarian stubbornly refuses to see, consequently conditions social, industrial, religious and scientific have changed while the seminary has not been altered, or adapted. The turning away from the seminaries by young men, the insistent common demand for more practical training of the ministry, the hardships of the ministers, the crying need of leaders in morals, the new social problems and the superb opportunities before the ministry, and the scientific enlightenment of the age show the necessity for radical change. The relaxing of sectarianism as it has existed continues, and with it crumbles the chief reason for the multiplication of seminaries. Pathetically, exclaims President Little of Garrett with unintentional humor: "The theological school usually prepares its graduates for service in a particular denomination. Accordingly when denominational peculiarities are sharply accentuated this is decidedly easier than where denominations differ from each other but slightly" (23).

The logical outcome of denominational consolidation is economical union of seminaries. Unless the accomplished denominational federations are superficial and the heralded Federated Council of Churches was fictitious, the trend is toward the merging of denominational interests and the obliteration of those sectarian distinctions which are practically obstructive. What then is to become of the sectarian seminaries of which there are about one hundred and fifty in this country? With the neglect of sectarian differences by the denominations the way is paved for a broad basis of agreement, for the foundation of a most unique, and a religiously scientific, type of institution; one devoted both to instruction and to original investigation of the problems of religion, morals and racial development. Scientific methods could be applied to the questions of supreme interest to mankind, culminating in religion. In this University of Religion the religious requirements of admission should not be more than evidence of pure character and of the love of God and one's fellowmen; the intellectual requirements for admission would be college graduation with assurance of adequate preparation for research work, including a well grounded scientific and literary training. During the first two years the student would receive instruction and at least one more year would be used to

introduce the student into original investigation. Reduce to the minimum the study of Hebrew and of Greek texts and of worn-out courses that have relatively low claim to educational value in the light of modern thought. Substitute for these thorough training in the foundations of the physical and the biological sciences, in sociology, culminating in the new psychology. Stimulate and electrify the education of ministers by the granting of freedom of investigation and flood the courses of study with the light of research. No graduate would leave its halls without having penetrated to the frontier in some direction of knowledge, to reveal some new fact, to make some contribution to our knowledge of truth. The value of this requirement is that research to the student is an unequalled stimulus, "it is to science what faith is to religion." It would inculcate habits of thought tending to fortify the minister against early disqualification and premature mental death. And the actual results of the investigation of the great social problems and of the profound mysteries of religion might enable organized religion to make progress in the amelioration of human woe and of sin somewhat like the progress of electrical science and art during the past quarter century. The ancient languages, the prolonged dogmatic theologies, the nice exegeses, the various modes of which Farrar (15) shows have been utilized to the limit of human ingenuity—and absurdity, where based upon literal interpretation and letter-idolatry, and the strained apologetics of the old seminary curriculum, would give place to newer, more fruitful, more inspiring courses, backed by scientific method. The ministry is concerned with life in its richest phases, yet the seminaries universally omit the science of life, biology, from their curricula, or demanded preparation. Instruction in preaching, in pastoral service, in scientific theology, in the inexhaustible lessons of the Scriptures would go hand in hand with biology, evolution, practical sociology, child study, hygiene, modern pedagogy, general psychology and with the aspiring and promising psychology of religion. Every minister or religious layman who would go from here would be a specialist to cure the souls of men, prepared to attack sin and degeneracy, to lead in intellectual life, in philanthropy and to grapple with the mighty religious problems and moral issues that confront the century.

A possible prolongation of the seminary course from three to four or five years would seem warranted in the substitution of scientific stud-

ies and methods for much that is now taught. My investigation shows that the average age of 55 Episcopal clergymen deceased in 1904-1905, was *65 years 9 months 18 days;* of 187 Baptist ministers dying in 1905 the average age was *67 years 9 months 18 days;* of 80 Congregational ministers, *70 years 1 month 24 days.* Of 2,611 Congregational ministers deceased from 1881 to 1904 the average age was *67 years 7 months 29 days.* Average age of all the 2,853 ministers referred to was *67 years 7 months 17 days* (43). Reports of the Registrar General of England and of the Gotha Life Insurance Company of Germany shows the remarkable longevity of clergymen, compared with other professional men, in those countries.

The way of the young seminary graduate is from the school to quick popularity and a good income. It would be better if our system for training moral leaders would include a year or two of actual participation with world-toilers. A pedagogic authority of international reputation sends the following paragraph:

"One of the functions of the clergyman or priest is supposed to be to warn man night and day with tears. At the present time the trouble is that those who warn are they who have succeeded; more emphatic would be the word of those who have failed. How shall the smug complacency of success be a warning to any man? It is failure that serves as a warning; it is not exultation of one who has never seen the rapids and whirlpools of life, but the words of the shipwrecked mariner that are impressive. The serious lack of the young candidates for the ministry or priesthood is that having been brought up in the conventional propriety of a scholastic and ecclesiastical environment [they had no knowledge of how three-fourths of the world lived. And with this lack of a knowledge of life is inevitably correlated a certain lack of character. In some measure to remedy this ignorance of life it would be well if every candidate for the ministry were required to serve at least one *Dienstjahr*, to pass a year of service in philanthropic or missionary work, as a missionary on the frontier, a teacher in the Colonies or among the Mountain whites, or as a worker in the slums of a great city, as a chaplain in the army, or in some such service."

The young theologue can afford to extend the term of the old minister while he himself perfects his education as a physician of souls by strenuous contact with the toilers. He perhaps could preach livelier sermons, have more fire, understand actual life, better apply his university training, if instead of seeking at once the fine church he would after graduation become for a year, say, a carpenter's apprentice, or a bookkeeper, or a travelling salesman, or a helper in a slaughter-house, or a factory worker, or a car conductor, or a miner, or a broker's clerk, or a reporter, or a theatre-usher, or a department-store salesman,

or a laundry-hand, or a waiter, or a butler, or an actor, or a dairyman, or a hospital attendant—or enter some service in which thousands toil without hope. An actual short enlistment (not one for leisure hours) in life of this kind might be more fruitful than his settlement or social studies.

I do not imply that the seminaries be turned over to those men of science who have only contempt for organized forms of religion and who see in the churches nothing beyond their obvious defects and mistakes. There are Doctors of Philosophy in abundance who spurn religion, and there are also not wanting educated men who encumber themselves with few moral restrictions. There are men of scholastic attainments who are parading in the garb of scientists, denouncing dogma and anything that is time honored, who disclaim connection with any religious sect or fad, who in reality are typical bigots, and upon close investigation they will be found only to be vehemently opposed to that which heredity, early religious environment and bias have led them to hate, while of their own foibles they are extremely dogmatic advocates. Such men are as much a reproach to science as hypocrites are to the church. There are men enough whose hearts are aflame with the love of their fellowmen to whom the supreme problems of religion may be intrusted. I speak of religion in its broadest sense and of its interpretation and applications to-day. Let only Protestantism acknowledge the superlative value of scientific investigation, accept the demonstrated results of evolutionary science, and know that obstruction to full and free investigation increases suspicion, skepticism, and is an evidence of lack of faith in eternal verities—and there will be put into the hands of the sons and daughters of the Church utensils and methods that should bring new life to the philanthropic interests of the organizations and exalt religion.

The people of to-day are in quest of light (35), affirms Mr. Goldwin Smith; they want evidence, not assertion, truth, not fiction. The skeptic of to-day does not insist on going into the laboratory to test every truth, but he insists on the right to do so, and efforts to suppress investigation intensifies dissatisfactiou. "I never could regard without entire aversion the notion of certain illuminists that truth was the privilege of the enlightened few, while tradition was the lot of the crowd." All skepticism is not of the immoral variety, seeking to escape responsibility, or of the metaphysical, quibbling sort,

and it may be even turned into disciplinary value. "A Ph. D. counts no more with a modern enquirer than the D. D.," nor does the patchwork compilation often labeled "research" deceive him. A reason is demanded for despair as well as for hope, and he refuses to applaud Haeckel denouncing religion and ridiculing dogmatism, when Haeckel (17) himself in his twenty-five categories, or ages, rises to the height of speculative dogma—notwithstanding his valuable services to biological science. Nor should these faculties of instruction and research be open to pettifogging professors or hangers-on at universities who claim to be scientists, but who often are nearly human automata covered with the dust of libraries. Spurning this type an indignant seminary president exclaims: "The world is a problem or a maze of problems for which solutions have been found in a few departments only, chiefly in the realm of physical science. The power and the impulse thus acquired by the physicists have led to a certain ostentation of scientific attainment altogether absurd. Every purveyor of interrogatives claims to be a man of science; and every proffered solution of a problem is boldly heralded as the latest result of scientific research. It is time to undermine this tower of Babel and blow it to the moon" (23).

The influence or control of a University of Religion by denominations might remain therefore as a wholesome safeguard in selecting the men to whom the development of the themes of religion and the instruction of its ministers would be intrusted. The actual administration could be put into the hands of boards, strictly non-sectarian and composed of capable men. This is a different matter from prescribing restrictions of thought or confining instructors to a repetition of tiresome dogmatic theologies and metaphysical speculation. Few men not of profound religious natures would engage for arduous work such as this, whether in faculty or in student body. And the strict surveillance of the controlling bodies over the moral character and conduct rather than the theories of the incumbents could bring together a faculty the like of which the world has rarely seen. The heredity, the physical characteristics, the personality, the training and the academic attainments of candidates for professorships should be weighed. Why should not an institution for the training of moral and religious leaders and standing for the best in human development make the highest demands upon its representatives? What better indorsement at once

of stirpiculture, of morality, of religion, could there be than the enforcement on the part of the church of such requirements as these? Essentially we substitute higher humanistic ideals for those of the sectarists which predominates in these schools to-day. Guarding the abuses of the German universities—and improving upon the pseudo-type of American universities—the great essentials of freedom in teaching and thinking, and of research, would be utilized; denominational control and self-respect would be maintained; it would not be unreasonable to expect unparalleled efficiency of the graduates.

For a system so full of promise for future generations it is probable that the American philanthropist would furnish capital. But other sources for the realization of this plan are available. Seminaries could be sold and consolidated; this would mean for scores of them to close their doors as seminaries and reopen as universities for the study of questions of morals and religion. Legal tangles and charter restrictions might present unavoidable difficulties to this in some instances. If a quarter of the value of church edifices could be utilized by the sale of superfluous and across-the-street Protestant churches it would suffice for the establishment and endowment of a magnificent university of religion. Again, if the Protestant church members of America, absolutely unaided by any of the sources above, were to contribute a sum averaging fifty cents per member, it would amount to over $10,000,000, an adequate sum. These speculations, however crude, make it plain that from a financial standpoint no insuperable obstacle is present in the plan suggested, provided the will to create it be developed.

The bare outline followed in the considerations of this chapter now may be traversed. The training of ministers to-day is either by sectarian or other colleges from which young men pass directly into the ministry; or by special courses of study, with or without college preparation; or in the seminary, with or without previous college work. A brief survey of the German, English, French, and American university systems discloses freedom and research as the backbone of the German universities, which many consider to lead the world. Certain drawbacks, abuses and conditions in German education are to us obvious defects and warnings. The American universities generally emphasize instruction more than investigation, and there is not actual academic freedom. The theological seminaries are, with few exceptions, peculiarly conservative, and though the environment of the sem-

inary has utterly changed during the past twenty-five years, the course of study has not been adapted or materially altered. Ancient survivals continue in the theological curriculum, and particularly Hebrew remains a fetich. Abundant, fresh material is at hand for substitution. The comparative study of religions, psychology and its ramifications, religious experience, biology, mental and physical hygiene, child study, adolescence, suggestion and hypnotism, are subjects of vital importance to the modern minister. Provision for practical contact with the masses and for learning by participation with those who toil for daily bread is possible, as well as sociological study. The threescore years and ten of the minister warrant an extension of the period of preparation, which would afford a wholesome check upon early and easy popularity with the consequent crowding out of mature men, and also afford more time for needed training. The recommendations of President Eliot, and the later ones of President Harper, point the way to vast improvement of the seminary. These, however, insufficiently emphasize the boon of academic freedom of thought and speech. Truth cannot suffer ultimately by investigation; Protestantism by birth is allied with the spirit of intellectual freedom, but to-day, timidly shrinks from the destruction which precedes the construction inevitably resulting from scientific method. Opprobrium has been brought upon the terms research and freedom by scoffers, and againt such the new seminary should close its doors. The present trend points to the consolidation of the sectarian seminaries into universities embodying absolute intellectual freedom and combining instruction with methods of research in social, moral and religious problems. Actual control of these institutions should be in the hands of inter-denominational boards, whose main efforts in the selection of faculties should be the discovery of all-round men, barring book-worms, freaks and geniuses, and tests of subscription to sectarian dogma. The financiering of such an institution presents no difficulty insurmountable in this day of stupendous projects.

The suggestions of need and opportunity of which we have caught glimpses indicate the sphere in which the graduates of such a system might labor. No artificial system can create true prophets, and it is presupposed that successful ministers will continue to be only men who combine prophetic hope, zeal for souls, and faith and conviction with native ability. It promises to train for religious service such

men, that they may have the evolutional view of life, appreciating the present and full of cheerful expectation for the future of the race. For ministers trained to refreshing mental life, and who are not functionaries and ritualists, early retirement would cease. New respect, prestige, efficiency and moral reform would follow these men—a ministry rehabilitated.

IV.

General Summary and Conclusion.

The conclusion and summaries of the preceding sections preclude the necessity of a prolonged résumé. The conclusions are intended only as tentative inferences and suggestions, based upon considerable illustrative material which thus synthesized will, it is hoped, illuminate the religious situation preparatory to a solution of its problems by others. However crude may be the inferences, I must adhere to them until some one else collects and produces a wider range of facts and of illustrations bearing upon the same problem, instead of merely individual opinions. It remains to recall in perspective the topics treated and the remedies proposed.

There is a class from whom, on account of heredity and bias, one need expect only acrimonious criticism of religion, the churches and the ministers. If the sectarists have been guilty of blind and fanatical belief, a pathological state, equally have those guilty of extreme and vituperative doubt exhibited unhealthy conditions. Prof. James says that the extreme sense of reality and truth seen in drunkenness and nitrous oxide intoxication finds its opposite in the questioning mania, the "Grübelsucht" of the Germans, or extreme hypercriticism and subtlety, "which may be paroxysmal or chronic." The altered irritability concomitant of neurasthenia and worse affections is often manifest in abusive and excessive criticism. A sane view holds the changes now transpiring as results of social evolution which eventually will bring to pass what is perfect. The churches and the ministers are close to the heart and life of the people, are maintained voluntarily by the people with sacrifice and prayer, and are the practical expressions of religious instinct that cannot be despised. Apparent dissolution of present forms should not be interpreted as signs of inevitable extinction of the ministerial profession, an opinion gaining credence

by the flocking of young men to medicine and the law; for this, too, is a phase of evolution. The words of Plato (31) spoken more than 2,000 years ago probably are applicable now, and we need not fear that the prophetic office will die: "When intemperance and diseases multiply in a State, halls of justice and medicine are always being opened; and the arts of the doctor and the lawyer begin to give themselves airs, finding how keen is the interest which not only the slaves, but the freeman of a State take about them."

The ministry as a profession is not a fixed entity; it finds normal development only when not arrested or perverted by interfering conventions, and adaptation to the largest possibilities of the race should be the key-note. The external aspects of the denominations of the United States are revealed in published opinions pro and con, and in available statistics. Pending a new report by the Government census, religious statistics are unsatisfactory, but an obvious fact seems to be the marked diminution in gains during recent years in the number of ministers and of members of the great Protestant denominational groups. More toleration and harmony, less basis for doctrinal sectarianism now exists; federations have been numerous. The artificial and dogmatic differences separating the churches are of less importance and many ecclesiastical tenets are openly ignored by good ministers and people. We cannot hope for a perfect amalgamation of the sects during this generation, but the trend is toward a sectarianism based upon racial and natural differences instead of upon credal technicalities. Race questions complicate the problem of practical union of the churches, although economy and efficiency and sentiment demand it. The period is one of uncertainty, unrest and transition.

Investigation shows that the actual reasons for the turning away of young men from the ministry chiefly are personal and subjective factors. There appears the common complaint against the limitations imposed upon the minister and of the changed industrial and social world, in which the minister is impractical. That many of the remediable restrictions are not being removed while superb attractions exist in the ministry according to the testimony of those who have experimental knowledge of the life—is the more lamentable.

An investigation of the mental attitude of more than a hundred church members discloses illustrative and suggestive information about the contemporaneous customs and ideals affecting the minister, and

of his value. In that chapter is depicted the ideal minister, morally, intellectually and physically. In contrast we see portrayed the practical pastor and how he must discharge the duties imposed upon him, with reference to belief, the sermon, communion, prayer, funerals, marriage, convicts and the insane and the multitudinous obligations of the pastoral relation, such as: attending sociables, reclaiming the abandoned, persuading skeptics, cultivating young people, hearing confessions, peace-making, finding work for unemployed, persuading to conversion, collecting money for missions, widows, orphans, education, charity, etc.; teaching or supervising in the Sunday school, making announcements, controlling sexton, the music, fighting saloons, taking interest in politics and other special activities. Many of these are trivial, others burdensome impositions by the world and the church, impossible of performance by one man whether he be a trained specialist or a religious jack-of-all-trades; while some pastoral activities are pregnant with opportunity for ethical and philanthropic service. The monotonous harassments of the ministry are detrimental to intellectual growth. Scores of undeveloped reforms are suggested within the churches and there is made plain the necessity for scientific education of clergymen and proper specialization of function.

A consideration of the obvious opportunities pressing upon the ministers and laymen of the churches when they have turned aside from the usual routine described, includes a plea for more attention to social distress rather than to devising means of escape from a transcendent devil. First there might be a revision of rituals, an abrogation of forms which are obstructive to church membership of pious men and which deter young men of the desirable kind from entering the ministry, and are a menace to the conscience of others. The religious periodical needs the attention of voting bodies where the rank and file of the ministry and the laymen control. A uniform raising of the standard for admission to the ministry with emphasis on sound scientific and literary training; better financial methods and just treatment of ministers; a renunciation of certain exemptions—seem imperative. A reinterpretation and practicalization of Christianity compatible with modern needs is demanded. The missionary spirit is the genius of Christianity and of every church that has grown measurably, but the direction of the enthusiasm and means of the churches to the salvation of the neglected at home who are increasing beyond

the growth of the churches, is of more importance for the human race than the immediate conversion of remote peoples to our way of thinking. The new ministry is called upon to make some contribution, by forcing legislation, arousing sentiment, by preaching, persuasion, vigilance, investigation, publicity or punishment,—to the prevention of sin and disease and their basis—the ill-use of wealth and needless poverty. Here enter specific problems momentous and promising enough to arouse a Paul.

We inquire of the makers of ministers, the seminaries, what they are doing in the present exigency. The origin of the seminary was in the two-fold desire to perpetuate peculiar religious views and to prepare an educated ministry. The first factor is disappearing; the second is more urgent than before. With best student material, greatest total capital and with demand for competent ministers, the seminary patronage has decreased and is decreasing. Its courses are undeniably antiquated; intellectual freedom is generally understood to be impossible in the seminary, and research and evolutionary studies are not adopted. The way to better utilization and to reformation of the seminaries is open.

The remedies suggested for consideration as first steps in clearing up the present religious situation in America may be grouped together thus: (a) Economical and practical federation of competing sects where no end, other than the propagation of credal differences is attained by separate existence. The sale of superfluous edifices and the reinvestment of the proceeds. (b) The equitable division by church officials and laymen of pastoral labor with a relinquishing of belittling conventions. (c) Specialization of the ministry, as, into, preachers, religious counsellors, sociologists, medical workers, etc. (d) Assumption of positive efforts of reform: (1) within the churches, with reference to revisions, adoption of policy of prophylaxis and prevention in philanthropic work, and of better financial methods; (2) without the churches, in co-operation with investigators in sociology, medicine and psychological science, for the solutions of such problems as those of child and woman-labor, poverty, the feeding of the people, debauchery of the rich and the protection of womanhood. Emphasis on preventive method need not imply the cessation of rescue work. For the seminaries: (a) The thorough revision of the curriculum for ministerial training with the purpose of preparing men to meet the larger

opportunities now open to a competent ministry. Less of Hebrew and linguistic studies, of dogmatic theologies and of ecclesiastical history is needed and more of the sciences. Essentially the admission of academic freedom and the method of original investigation are necessary. Practical experience of ministerial candidates in industrial and business life should be required of graduates before they assume leadership in the churches. (b) The amalgamation of isolated seminaries regardless of denomination into universities to be devoted specifically (1) to instruction of moral and religious leaders; (2) to investigation of the problems of religion and of racial betterment. The controlling boards of such institutions should endeavor to employ a faculty of men incarnating, so far as possible, high ideals of physical, intellectual and moral manhood as well as social qualities and teaching ability combined with a religious spirit, and this should be the test of employment rather than subscription to articles of belief.

I would not abolish the old-fashioned pastoral office, but would rehabilitate it, rid it of carking burdens, divide its labor and adapt it as an office of value to society. It is the rich core of the ministerial profession which time has proved valuable. The experimental worth of the ministry — providing the parasites, the ecclesiastical politicians and the weaklings, be eliminated — has not been over-estimated. The unknown, earnest minister is a tower of strength to the moral welfare of the world. Patience, wisdom, industry and love remain the indispensable qualities of a minister. Add to these the furnishings and the mental habit of university and of business life, to meet the incessant cry for the practicalization of the ministry. The anomalous status of the pastor to-day is largely due to the unreasonable demands of the congregation and of the world; partly to his own failure "to take the bit in his teeth"; but for want of initial insight, proper mental habit, unsuitable preparation, he can blame the assumed leaders in theological education, the seminaries. Let these resign to the universities their function or else bridge at once the chasm that separates them from the present day. Flagrant inactivity to the demands for improvement of courses of study, unpedagogic methods, unwise financial investments, and bristling resentment to investigation may be charged justly against the seminaries as a class. The average seminary is an institution out of harmony with the times

In the seminaries there lies the possibility of great development.

Harvard College was established with the aid of the Puritanical spirit, and was repeatedly succored by lotteries, but to-day, as an independent university, is a foremost institution of learning. Remodelled, accepting the cardinal principles of freedom and research, requisite to intellectual growth and to disclose truth in its fullness, the seminaries closing doors to open again as a University of Religion, might relinquish the institutions useful in their day but now outgrown. The yielding of the seminaries to the processes of social evolution perforce may be to continued dismay at diminishing patronage, or to adaptation that will swing them into the current of progress, where all is change. If religion is as old as the human heart and will last as long, yet the external forms, ecclesiastical ideas and organizations as they exist are neither immutable nor final. "When the leaves of Autumn are withered and about to fall," remarks some one, "why waste effort in plucking them"? It is the provision for the new and budding life that deserves most attention. We turn away from the absolute iconoclasts, as well as from churchly obstructionists, to that truly pious but progressive element within and without the churches who would construct a firmer basis of faith and works amid the ruins of old systems; to those who with clear vision deny that all is lost and affirm confidently that the inexhaustible riches of the complete life are still to be realized.

V.

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THE MOVEMENT FOR ETHICAL CULTURE AT HOME AND ABROAD.

By M. W. MEYERHARDT.[1]

The Movement in the United States.

Introduction.

The beginnings of the movement for ethical culture are interwoven with the past. Apparently it originated suddenly, receiviug its impetus from a few exceptionally active leaders. Closer inspection, however, reveals the fact that logically, if not historically, it forms but the latest link in a long chain of religious development.

According to the traditional view, religion and morality have usually developed together. Leaving aside the early, frequently grotesque, stages, all religious movements must be regarded as distinctly ethical movements, for the purpose of all was primarily the spiritual ennoblement of mankind. This cannot possibly be disputed, if by religion there is meant not some specified type, but religion in general as manifested in its highest form. As proof may be mentioned the fact that, at all times, preachers of religion were recognized, by a large majority of men, as the natural guardians of the modes of living approved in their communities, and *vice versa*, that moral leaders have almost invariably been religious leaders, insistent on the unity of divine and human law. Pre-eminently is this true of the founder of Christianity, who was not simply the revealer of a new faith, but above all a moral teacher. He taught love of God and love of man not as two distinct things but as one — holding that either is dependent upon the other — that allegiance to God and allegiance to righteousness are identical. A similar view has been advocated by all great religious teachers and certain

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philosophers of nearly every age, who declare that without religion, morality is a psychological impossibility.

To-day, if one wants to assert that religion embraces within itself the whole moral life and that it is impossible to apprehend duty unless we recognize the supremacy of the former, there is found no consensus of opinion. In the course of the last few centuries, profound and radical changes have taken place in the whole current of human thought. In science, in history, in theology, things which had never been doubted and which had been accepted with unquestioning confidence, have been analyzed and scrutinized, and this spirit of inquiry has reached even to the ultimate grounds on which religious belief is founded. There has been going forward a double action, a disintegration of all which seemed most solid in the beliefs of former centuries, and at the same time a crystallization of certain ideas floating hitherto undefined in the realm of human thought.

By this process of analysis and synthesis, the time when the essence of Christianity was believed to consist in a number of fixed dogmatic opinions and ecclesiastical customs was left behind, until, finally, at the opposite pole, after deduction of what seemed temporary and transitory coverings, there remained as the real permanent nucleus of religion the belief in the moral order of the world; the conviction that this constituted the heavenly kingdom and that it can be attained by the fulfillment of ethical duties.

It is, of course, out of the question to draw within an essay of this kind even an outline of the evolution of Christianity. But if, for instance, not to go back further, we cast but a glance at the history of Unitarianism, we get a fairly good conception of the thread of ideas, which formed the path on which a more liberal Christianity advanced.

While at first, to a certain extent, still believers in the supernatural and the miracles of the New Testament, and accepting without question most of the ideas which had been entertained by all Protestants from the days of Luther and Calvin, there soon arose within the Unitarian ranks a conflict of opinions. The same influences which had been responsible for leading them away from the Orthodox faith were causing the more radical to advance beyond their more conservative neighbors. Claiming that the church under which they had been brought up had lost sight of the spirit of the teaching of Christ by too much pondering the letter and had lost touch with the rich significance

of his words by running away in vain quest of metaphysical abstractions, there formed themselves some groups of men who began to work for what they believed to be a purification of religion. They were no longer satisfied to appeal to the Bible as a court of last resort, to shut themselves up in its enclosure and go no further, but they deliberately substituted a rational idealism for creed and adopted art, humanity and literature as the expressions of the divine mind. They proposed a new theory of religious truth and insisted that the spiritual message of Christianity was inward and not outward, directly to the soul of man, and not through the mediation of a person or a book.

"If" said W. E. Channing, "after a deliberate and impartial use of our best faculties, a professed revelation seems to us plainly to disagree with itself, or to clash with great principles which we cannot question, we ought not to hesitate to withhold from it our belief. I am surer that my rational nature is from God than that any book is an expression of his will. This light in my own breast is his primary revelation and all subsequent ones must accord with it, and are, in fact, intended to blend with and brighten it."

These men yearned for a higher, broader and freer conception of Christianity, believing that the power of Christ lay in his character, his spotless purity and his moral perfection rather than in the time during which he has existed.

Passing from the Spiritualism of Channing to the Naturalism and Transcendentalism of Parker, the more radical element of the Unitarian church through the latter became imbued with German theology and philosophy and the teachings of Kant, Goethe, Schleiermacher, Baur, and others of the Tübingen school found in their mind a soil prepared for them. They began to look upon the Bible as little above the authority of any other historical book and, instead of appealing to it for their religious ideas, turned to the soul of man and its intuitions. They denied that Christianity rests on the personal authority of Christ and regarded it, in the words of Parker, as "a very simple thing: absolute pure morality, absolute pure religion,—the love of man—the love of God. The only form it demands is a divine life—doing the best thing from the highest motives."

As might be expected, Unitarianism, although it began by the assertion of independence and freedom of thought, was startled to see its contentions carried to the logical conclusions of unrestrained specula-

tion and speech which, as it seemed, was leading to the boundaries of liberal theology. But extreme as these views appeared to the rank and file of Unitarians, there existed a radical element of free-thinkers who were bound to go still further. They insisted that the Intellect and not the Soul is the first authority in religion, and that "faith founded on knowledge and sustained by inquiry must be the spiritual religion of the future." Breaking away from Unitarianism under the leadership of O. B. Frothingham, the so-called "Free Religious Association" no longer required Christianity as a basis of ethics, for "rational religion," they explained, "believes in the natural capacity of men and women, in goodness as a legitimate product of the heart,—it believes that out of the raw material of human nature, everything that human nature has need of may be created."

From the standpoint of the future "Movement for Ethical Culture," or, of the movement as it was ideally conceived, the principles exploited by the "Free Religious Association" suffered from one radical defect, namely that of over-emphasizing Rationalism in religion. In so doing they incurred the danger of inciting conditions, which were bound to defeat their aims.

The snares of Rationalism are manifold. The unwillingness to accept Christianity unless enabled to attain a scientific and historical knowledge of its supernatural claims and the despair of any means thereof renders men indifferent, not only towards the church but frequently towards all kinds of religion. Moreover, perhaps but as the logical consequence of the agnostic attitude, which produces no body of negative propositions corresponding to the accepted creeds on the positive side, it develops a dangerous kind of individualism. With negations as the only bond of unity, each one is apt to attempt to solve for himself the problems which confront us and mere self-assertions often take the place of any conscientious search for fundamental truth. Again, wherever doubt fails to give birth to new beliefs, the ordinary mind is left subject to the influence of any crude and baneful theory which may chance to come its way and is tempted to try the agnostic principle in regions where it does not justly apply. Within the domain of religion such a procedure is followed by the most deplorable results, for it often has the effect of discrediting all rules associated with religious commands. In other words, together with theological dogmas, the moral precepts of religion are apt to lose

their authority, creating in men a tendency of abandoning in despair all attempts at a higher life.

These are conditions as inevitable as they are to be dreaded. In the past, minds of a high order, often full of genius and of wisdom, succeeded temporarily in checking disaster, by pointing out the luxuriant moral blossoms of Christianity, which like so many orchids attract the eye while their sweetness touches the heart. But in our modern age, with its perishing theologies, and Science and Philosophy presenting ever changing theories of the material and mental universe, men are bent on finding the root of faith from which such beauty has sprung. In turning to the church, however, an old decaying tree to which the delicate foliage lightly adheres, is, from their point of view, all they can discover.

As a consequence, the spectre of moral degeneration looms up with ever increasing force when those who should be their friends and counsellors only frown upon their misgivings and unable to proffer convincing truth, profanely bid them to stifle their doubts. Does not, under such circumstances, the advisability of establishing an independent Ethics become a burning question? For whatever else is doubtful, this, at least, is certain: whether or not there be a God and immortality, it is better to be generous than selfish, better to be true than false, better to be brave than to be a coward, better to be chaste than licentious. When beliefs and theories begin to crumble, the one way by which man may come forth scatheless from the struggle, is by holding fast to the simple landmarks of morality.

Such, in a nutshell, were the considerations which urged the necessity of bringing this era of individual iconoclasm to a close. As distinguished from the Free Religious Association, which expressed the libertarian tendencies of Emerson's thought, the Ethical movement attempted to realize his dream of "a new church based on moral science." It was the belief that the formation of an organization with certain clearly defined, positive principles would contribute to the accomplishment of this task and that "the basis of natural Ethics" is a platform broad enough to furnish a meeting place for all, believers and unbelievers, which called the new movement into life. To state them beforehand, the immediate motives for organizing a "Society for Ethical Culture" were:

(1) "To teach the supremacy of the moral ends above all other human ends and interests."

(2) "To teach that the moral law has an immediate authority, not contingent on the truth of religious beliefs or philosophical theories."

(3) "To advance the science and the art of right living."

Historical Data.

The first "Society for Ethical Culture" was that in New York, organized May 15, 1876, by Dr. Felix Adler, the son of a Jewish rabbi, Dr. Samuel Adler. Although his ancestors in a direct line had been teachers of religion as far back into history as they can be traced, he had outgrown the ancient faith of his people. His contemplations had compelled him to adopt in its stead the idea that true religion must grow out of moral living and moral acting. Realizing the futility, as indicated by the history of the sects, of forming a Society whose principles, with a few changes and mental reservations, conformed in substance to the creeds and ceremonies of the old religions, he had come to the conclusion that such a Society must be established on a purely ethical basis. "Morality," he declared, "long accustomed to the watchful tutelage of faith, whose ancient strongholds have given way before the assaults of criticism and doubt, finds this connection loosened or severed, while no new protector has arisen to champion her rights, no new instruments been created to enforce her lessons among the people. As a consequence there is a want of purpose in modern society, a narrowness of vision which shuts out the wider vistas of the soul and an absence of those sublime emotions, which, wherever they arise, do not fail to exalt and consecrate existence." Hence it is necessary that the loftier purposes of life be again brought powerfully home to the hearts of the people, and the principal objects to which the new Society shall consecrate itself should be the moral elevation of its members, and the moral training of the growing generation.

All ceremonial and formalism, prayer, and every form of ritualism was to be excluded, in order to exalt the movement above the strife of contending sects and parties and have it occupy "that common ground where all may meet, believers and unbelievers, for purposes in themselves lofty and unquestioned by any." The Society was to be the first clear embodiment of the idea, that true religion is not dependent

on theological dogma; that its foundations are laid deep in the heart of man, in the facts of conscience rather than in a speculative theology. Nearly all religions teach, and philosophy affirms, that the true service of religion is the unselfish service of the common weal. There is in reality no difference in the law but only concerning the origin of it. Hence, though it be inevitable that differences in the creed continue, there is a sphere in which unanimity and fellowship are possible and above all things needful, namely in action. "DIVERSITY IN THE CREED, UNANIMITY IN THE DEED" should form a platform broad enough to receive the worshipper and the infidel.

The New York Society had from the start a goodly number of earnest supporters, yet, as far as active membership is concerned, the expectations of the leader were probably never realized. And again, for about seven years, the Society remained the only one of its kind. During that time, however, a number of young men, from various parts of the country, being attracted to the ideas which it represented, were studying under the guidance of Dr. Adler the Society's methods, thus preparing themselves to undertake the duties of ethical leadership. Finally, in 1883, under the leadership of W. M. Salter, the Chicago Society was established. Two years later, under the direction of S. Burns Weston, the Philadelphia Society was founded. A fourth one was established at Saint Louis in 1886, by W. L. Sheldon.

Each one of these Societies had a President and Board of Directors and was entirely independent from all others, so much so that no man was authorized to speak for the movement beyond giving his personal opinions or convictions. The meetings of Societies are held on Sunday, when lectures are given to which the public is admitted, so that many come under the influence of the movement, even if not directly allied with it. Each Society has a regular appointed Lecturer. Occasionally, however, others are invited to occupy the platform. As originally planned, the object of these lectures was to be twofold: (1) To illustrate the history of human aspirations; to trace the origin of what are believed to be the errors of the past and to point out the grander connections in which earthly existence stands everywhere with the larger life of the race. (2) To set forth a standard of duty; to discuss the practical duties of the day and to make clear the responsibilities which, in view of the political and social evils of the age, our nature as moral beings imposes upon us.

A full statement of Principles, drawn up as a proper basis for the organization of a Society for Ethical Culture, reads as follows:

"(1) We believe that morality is independent of theology. We hold that the moral law is imposed upon us by our own rational nature and that its authority is absolute. We maintain that the moral life should be brought to the foreground in religion.

"(2) We affirm the need of a new statement of the ethical code of mankind. The formulations of duty which were given by the great religious teachers of the past are not sufficient for the changed conditions of modern society. We believe that moral problems have arisen in this industrial, democratic, scientific age, which require new and larger formulations of duty. Hence a new interest in ethical problems and a profounder study and discussion of them are demanded.

"(3) We regard it our duty as a Society for Ethical Culture, to engage in works of philanthropy on as large a scale as our means will allow. The ultimate purpose of such philanthropy should be the advancement of morality. When we contemplate the low moral condition of society and its indifference to moral aims, we feel called upon to do what we can to raise our fellowmen to a higher plane of life and to awaken within them a deeper moral purpose.

"(4) We hold that the task of self-reform should go hand in hand with efforts to reform society. The mere fact of membership in an Ethical Society must be regarded as a tacit avowal of the desire to lead a wholly upright life and to aid in developing a higher type of manhood and womanhood than has been known in the past.

"(5) We believe that organization is indispensable to carrying out the aims of ethical culture and that this organization should be republican rather than monarchical. While we recognize the need of a public lecturer for the Society, we believe that the work of ethical culture in its broadest sense,—the study, the discussion, and the application of its principles, should be carried on as far as possible by the members themselves.

"(6) We agree that the greatest stress should be laid on the moral instruction of the young, to the end that in the pure hearts of children may be sown the seeds of a higher moral order, that early in life they may be impressed with the worth and dignity of human existence, and that the work of social and individual perfection may be carried on with larger and nobler results from generation to generation."

The first actual results to attract attention are the works of philanthropy in which the movement has engaged. Although it stood apart from the churches, it seemed to be able to inspire men to much the same kind of efforts as the church has been supposed exclusively capable of accomplishing. The first practical work undertaken was to provide for a more complete mental and moral education of the children. A free kindergarten, one of the first in this country, was established for the children of the poor of New York. On the basis of this first step in education was gradually built up the so-called "Workingman's School," now called the "Ethical Culture School," which by some is held to stand at the head of all schools of this country as an exponent of modern rational methods of education.

At about the same time there was inaugurated a system of "District Nursing" among the poor. Trained nurses were appointed who went from day to day among the sick poor, each within a given district, and attended to the proper ventilation and cleanliness of their rooms, supplied any necessary articles, and saw that the physician's orders were observed.

A "Building Association," organized for the purpose of building better tenements for the poor, a "Summer Home" for children, free "Sunday Concerts" for the benefit of the working classes, a "Trade School" for girls, and other undertakings of a similar nature emanated from the Society.

Early in its history, there was formed a group of young men known as the "Union for the higher life," whose main purpose is that of promoting among its members purity as to personal conduct of life, but whose further aim is an increase in ethical knowledge and insight and the practice of charity, which must not be left to mere impulse but regarded as a duty.

Later the "Women's Conference" was organized, consisting of groups of women connected with the Society, whose work it is to raise a certain yearly sum for the managers of the charities of the Society,— to supply garments and other necessaries for the sick at various hospitals and dispensaries,— to visit and teach crippled children,— to supply mothers with the best educational literature,— and to assist in practical efforts at improving the conditions of female wage-earners.— Besides these practical activities, monthly lectures are delivered, in which the Women's Conference seeks to discuss and define woman's

true position in the State, in industry, in science and art, and in the home.

"Sunday-ethical-classes" for children, and on week-days for advanced pupils, are conducted, in which instruction is given in religious history and the special duties pertaining to the life of young men and women are considered.

Although none of the other Societies are as large in numbers or play so important a rôle as the New York Society, yet there is a close resemblance in their efforts and work. The blending of "ethical religion" with practical measures for social reform is the striking feature of the whole movement in the United States.

In 1888 began the publication of the first official organ of the Societies, a quarterly called the "Ethical Record," which was continued for two years and a half, when it was succeeded, in October, 1890, by the "International Journal of Ethics," which, though not the official organ of the Societies, owes its origin and main support to them. From the publishing and literary headquarters in Philadelphia are issued monthly "Ethical Addresses," containing the more important lectures of the leaders, and the New York Society published for five years, bi-monthly, the "Ethical Record," a journal of practical ethics, and monthly "News-Letters," which has since been merged with the Philadelphia monthly under the title, "Ethical Addresses and Ethical Record."

In 1893 the four societies united in an organization called the "American Ethical Union." As given in its constitution, the general aim of the movement, as represented by this union, is to elevate the moral life of its members and that of the community. The special purpose of the union was that of strengthening the bond of sympathy between the Societies as well as all outsiders friendly to their aims; to publish and circulate ethical literature and to promote any undertakings which might require co-operation.

One of the results of this Union was the establishment of a "School of Applied Ethics" with a separate board of trustees, and not directly connected with any of the Societies. The work was divided into three departments, Religion, Economics, and Ethics. Summer sessions were held with lecturers coming from the leading educational institutions of the United States.

In 1896 the American Societies sent Delegates to the "Interna-

tional Ethical Congress," which met at Zürich, Sept. 7, 1896. There, the so-called "International Union of Ethical Societies" was formed. A more detailed account of the programme of this Ethical Federation will be introduced later.

Finally, an event worthy of mention, is the opening, in 1904, of a new and imposing home for the Ethical Culture School, a building facing Central Park, which contains five stories, besides basement and roof garden. In addition to the usual school accommodations, provision is made for domestic art, luncheon and domestic science departments, shops for wood and iron work, studios, laboratories, a school museum, a library, and an ethics room. The school is divided into three departments, with elementary, high, and normal school courses. A general account of the ethical instruction given may be found in the "Ethical Record, December, 1904."

Attitude Toward Ethical Theories.

If one were asked to sum up in a single sentence the general spirit or tendency which culminated in the movement for ethical culture, one would not be wrong in saying that it was a desire to propagate the faith that in the idea of the "Good" is to be sought the master motive for the whole burthen of existence and event, the only practical basis of religious fellowship and collaboration for people of varying philosophical belief.

In this tendency of thought the movement is by no means new. More than 2,000 years ago in ancient Greece, when the foundations of local religion and beliefs seemed to be disappearing, there arose an Ethical school which taught that, in view of prevailing conditions, new efforts were needed to set the world right in order to prevent stagnation and corruption. And again, turning to modern history, one cannot help reflecting upon the resemblance of the present situation to that found by Kant. Living in the age of Frederic the Great and Voltaire, when many of the educated classes had become indifferent to religion, because the speculative philosophies about God, immortality and freedom had lost their impressiveness, Kant attempted to revive religious sentiment through the belief in a universal moral order whose authority is derived by the practical reason discerning and enforcing obligation for and upon the will. To him all moral obligation was something wholly unique, and the recognition of the authority of

moral law, known as the sense of duty, a feeling which is ultimately unanalyzable.

The cry "back to Kant" has again and again been raised, and it is, therefore, not surprising that, with this familiar cry in mind, the founder of the movement for ethical culture seems to have assumed the burthen of his task. But he found conditions changed. The world was looking upon the past through the arch of experience. The age of naïve faith was not easily recalled. There were those to whom the connection of the idea of duty with a moral sentiment, which, as Darwin puts it, "is defined by saying it must be obeyed," implied a rather marked inconsistency. And if one believes, as not a few to-day do, that Kant, actuated by a keen desire to restore the belief in God, immortality and freedom which was destroyed by the disputes of philosophers and could not be re-established save upon new foundations, took Ethics only as a means for that end, the acceptance of his standpoint brings morality, although disguised under the veil of supremacy, as much into servitude to metaphysics as ever it was.

Kant's categorical imperative could hardly be expected to appeal to the radical element, who, in view of the light thrown by modern science on the nature and probable origin of the moral consciousness, refused to thus make morality the last of dogmas.

Defining a basis of ethics as the "reason why man must regulate his actions in a certain way," they contended that the moral "ought" which involves that which is called "good," depends upon the basis of ethics and is conditioned by the different answers given to the question: "Why must I feel bound by any ought or moral law?" In the old religions, so they argued, this why of the moral ought is explained by the will of God, and the movement for ethical culture, started because dogmatic religion no longer sufficed as a basis of ethics, must lay a new basis that will suffice, or lose its meaning.[1]

One who realizes how difficult it is to make any statement in Ethics without taking either one side or the other of a disputed question, can easily appreciate the dilemma in which the leaders found themselves. A number of personal explanations followed, and the movement as such finally decided upon a non-committal policy. Inasmuch as its aim is "union of persons of different beliefs and philosophical opin-

[1] Controversy between "The Open Court" and "The Ethical Record."

ions," it was held, "that an Ethical society should assert ethical principles as such against unethical principles" rather than one set of ethical principles against another. That, instead of beginning with a strong logical grasp of abstract truth and descending from theory to practice, the procedure should be reversed. "Ethics is a science and an art," explains Dr. Adler, and like Wundt and others he holds, that, as a rule, men agree on the question as to what is moral; opinions are divided only as to why it is so. Nevertheless, he continues, while as yet no true system of morals has been discovered, the movement believes, that in the course of time such a system may make its appearance. Its interpretation, on the other hand, will be possible only for those, who through moral experience have come into possession of the inner facts of the laws, with the meaning of which it deals. "The movement tries to realize the idea expressed in the sentence: Accomplish the deed, and you will know the creed." Hence its relation to ethical theories is one of analysis and hypothesis rather than of advocacy.

It is interesting to note, however, that in defining the attitude of the movement, the leaders, although apparently engaged in upholding this non-committal policy, all but commit it to one certain theory. In fact from the main tenor of their arguments one would be justified in saying, that practically it stands committed to that form of Idealism, which under the name of "self-realization" predominates to-day. The standpoint from which all proceed is that of the inner appreciation of moral values. But while Dr. Adler and Mr. Salter stand close to Kant, and Mr. Sheldon admires Fichtean Ethics, to the movement as such, morality consists, not so much in the control of general maxims, not in the subordination of the individual's will to norms and standards, but in the rich and full living out of an entire individuality, in the unfolding of an individual character. As Mr. Percival Chubb briefly states it: "To live out of our best self, that is the duty which, theory or no theory, we must fulfill to the best of our powers" (4).

The final goal of the movement, in the words of Dr. Adler (1), is "moral regeneration,—regeneration of the individual and of human society as a whole." The means by which it is hoped to reach this goal is education: "The combining of intellectual and æsthetic culture with genuine ethical culture." But above all "action." Virtue must not be taken in a neutral or even negative sense to mean mere endur-

ance, self-denial and constraint, but rather ought to bear the stamp of a positive ability, the power and readiness to do—and to do that which is required by law, by ideal, by social demands and by the needs of life.

The method to rouse men from their inertness should be that of propaganda. "The thing to do," writes Dr. Adler (1), "is for the teachers, the leaders, to see clearly the scheme of right living and to make others see it; to be aglow with moral passion and to kindle in others the same fire." By thus leading men into the ways of moral experience, it is hoped, that each additional fact to the fund of moral experience will be in the nature of a provocative for modifying, purifying and enlarging previous theoretical conceptions.

The attitude of the movement toward ethical theories is thus a peculiar one. For while apparently it observes strict neutrality and requires of its members simply "a pledge of moral endeavor and search, an effort to live the good life, to define it for self-guidance and find a sure foundation for it," unofficially, one might say, it looks upon moral development from the idealistic point of view.

As a basis for union or non-committal policy, as the hypothesis most commonly held by the leaders the idealistic theory.

Attitude Toward Religion.

Living in an age where new problems are constantly arising, generating doubts and perplexities for which in the opinions of many the solutions of other days no longer supply an adequate answer, nevertheless, one cannot fail to observe that in questions of religion all the early leaders, with a singular unanimity, have applied rigorously what Prof. Huxley chooses to call "the method of agnosticism." Although they want it distinctly understood that, as individuals, they are not agnostics, their earlier writings show beyond a doubt that they have arrived at conclusions which are apt to be the logical result of the application of this principle. Beyond the sphere of the present life and its varied experiences nothing can be known or recognized as surely existing. Empirical knowledge alone is the criterion of establishing facts, and any inferences drawn from these facts of a higher sphere of existence are repudiated as mere guesses or conjectures, incapable of verification.

In these views they coincide with all so-called agnostics for that is

practically the standpoint and the characteristic idea lying at the root of all modern unbelief. However, there is to be noted a distinction in the form which this idea assumes. The purely scientific position, for instance, leaves religion alone, and contents itself with stating that there is an ascertainable cosmical order which can be verified by science and that with this order we ought to be satisfied. "Why," writes Prof. Huxley, "trouble ourselves about matters of which, however important they may be, we do know nothing and can know nothing?—With a view to our duty in this life, it is necessary to be possessed of only two beliefs: the first, that the order of nature is ascertainable by our faculties to an extent which is practically unlimited; the second, that our volition counts for something as a condition of the course of events. Each one of these beliefs can be verified experimentally as often as we like to try" (14).

The ethical school, on the other hand, draws its code of experience from the study of human life and conduct rather than from the facts and laws of the cosmos, and advocates the reality of moral phenomena, and the value and beauty of all the higher aspects of life. But not contented with simply announcing this, they attempt, and that is the distinguishing characteristic, to construct out of these doctrines a religion. "Ethics," writes W. M. Salter (20), "realized in its meaning is religion; it is the only religion for the rational man. . . . In speaking of an ethical, an essentially practical religion, I have not in mind simply a few superficial improvements on the old religions. I mean not simply a little more 'practical work,' a little more attention to the necessities of the poor, a little better education of the young among them. . . . An ethical religion would mean this, but only because it means vastly more. It is nothing else than a changed thought of the nature of religion which I have in mind; namely, that it can be no longer for rational men of to-day to worship or pray, but to have the sense of a task, the sense of something limitless to accomplish, and to accomplish it." It is particularly W. L. Sheldon, however, who throughout his book, "An Ethical Movement" (22), tries to give to the ethical life the appearance of a form of religious life. To him the movement for ethical culture consists "of the serious and earnest individuals, who in the presence of the possible downfall of high character and nobler manhood, are becoming more and more willing to forget the other differences, to pass by diversities of theological or

philosophical belief in order to concentrate their attention upon rescuing and developing the moral ideal. The spirit, therefore, which now exists among a few, may by and by reach out over the world, and then the Universal Church will be constructed on the basis of an Ethical Society." . . . "From practical experience," as in former years from abstract reflection, he is convinced that this new spirit or tendency "will be the one surviving standpoint for the future religion and the future church."

In its early stages, as attempted by some of the leaders, the development of the movement may well be likened to that of the "Positive Philosophy" which, in tendency of thought, at least, it greatly resembles. According to Comte, the human mind, in passing from the metaphysical to the positive stage, must abandon the search of the Absolute, put aside questions of origin, and confine itself to the observation of phenomena and of their invariable relations. Taking the general facts of each science, and contending that we have no knowledge of anything but phenomena and that our knowledge of these is merely relative, he co-ordinated the constant resemblances which link them together, deduced therefrom general laws, and constructed out of this ensemble of systematic results a philosophy. But, being at first purely scientific and intellectual, and holding that the religious attitude of mind and also every religious idea must disappear, this philosophy at a later period underwent a considerable modification. Its object then was, not to completely do away with the religious element, but rather to harmonize it with modern thought. This second phase of his philosophy, "the subjective phase of Positivism," rests not on reason but on feeling; hence it aspires to become a religion.

In a like manner this new ethical school admits nothing which does not rest on universally admitted facts and laws; it limits our views to the mere facts of consciousness and, analyzing these, finds in them an adequate theory of moral duty. The belief in a deity, it argues, should not be regarded as the foundation and criterion of religion, and it asserts that the feeling of the sublime, the presence of the infinite in the thoughts of men, is the root of all religious sentiments. Again, just as Comte refers all sentiments of devotion to an ideal object, namely, the human race conceived as a continuous whole, "the Grand Etre," as he terms it, so the infinite nature of duty becomes here, so

to speak, a reality, the belief in which constitutes the essence of religion.

As to their right of calling a movement of this kind a "religious" movement, the question is one which can hardly be discussed here at length. There are few terms to-day so indefinite and ambiguous in their meaning as the term religion. Wherever theological influences prevail, there are, of course, no differences of opinion. The ascendency of modern scientific tendencies, on the other hand, has brought forth views so radically opposed to each other, as to make it exceedingly difficult to limit the range of application of the term.

Granting, however, that there existed a justification for calling the movement a "religious" movement, it must be obvious, that the course which the leaders pursued, could not but have worked detrimentally to its aim, that namely, of enlisting the sympathies of both believers and unbelievers in a common cause. The manner in which they discussed such topics as "Religion," "Immortality," "why Christianity does not satisfy us," etc., had hardly a tendency to lessen the chasm which separated them from the church. Hence, the main success of the movement, at that time, aside from its philanthropic endeavors, may be said to have been, the providing of a Sunday meeting place for its hitherto unchurched members.

But, as one surveys the development of the movement, it becomes apparent that it has gradually drifted away from this original anchorage. As the real aims of the organization became better understood, the leaders became more and more imbued with the idea that its mission must be to build rather than to destroy. In consequence, not only has the movement as such lost some of its early austerities, but the personal opinions of the leaders also, perhaps by a natural process of evolution, perhaps under the mitigating influence of the philosophy which the movement represents, seem to have been in the course of time greatly modified. The earlier lecture topics largely gave way to discussions of the home and vocations, family relations, marriage, the training of the young, etc. And "instead of confining their efforts to but one department of morals, in which so far only co-operation to any extent had been secured, namely, in good works, it now became their aim to extend this area, so as to include a part, at least, of the inner moral life, by endeavoring to gain clearer perceptions of right and wrong and by studying the problems of individual, social and political Ethics."

The beneficial effect of this change quickly evinced itself. While, at first, the conservative element looked askance upon the movement and in some ways was strongly antagonistic to it, the opposition has now somewhat subsided. In fact, it is said, that, in many instances, the mechanic and the man of wealth are co-operating for the same purpose and that members of orthodox churches may be seen working side by side with religious radicals.

Another factor which probably aided in bringing about this result was the issuing of a statement in which the attitude toward religion of "the movement *per se*" was more precisely defined.

Herein it is maintained that there are two ways in which the word religion is commonly used. In the one sense it describes a passionate devotion to a supreme cause. In the other sense, it is applied to affirmations concerning the connection between man's being and the Universal being. The movement for ethical culture, it is asserted, is a religious movement in the former sense. Those affirmations, it is further explained, in regard to which assent is inadmissible, determine the collective character of a movement. In regard to the connection between man's being and the Universal being dissent among members and lecturers of Ethical Societies is admissible; hence "the movement as such" is not a religious movement in the latter sense.

Added to this explanation were the following modifications of former statements: "In the Ethical Movement, lecturers as well as other members, are free to hold and to express on the Sunday platform theistic, agnostic or other philosophical beliefs. But they shall clearly indicate that these beliefs do not characterize the Movement. They shall not seek to incorporate these beliefs into the statement of principles of an Ethical Society and they shall not introdnce at the general public exercises of the Society forms or ceremonies which are founded on these private beliefs. But nothing in this paragraph shall be construed so as to exclude or reflect on the value of religious services among members of Ethical Societies when held in such a manner as to commit only those who take part in them. Members of Ethical Societies shall be presumed to feel a serious interest in the moral end, but they shall not be required to express a belief that the moral end is the supreme end of human existence. For though the supremacy of the moral end is implied in the very nature of morality, it is not to be expected that this implication shall be clear to all whose interest is serious

and capable of further development. Lecturers of Ethical Societies, however, shall be expected to possess as a sure conviction the cardinal truth of the supremacy of the moral end. All persons otherwise competent, who accept this truth, and who in virtue of it assign to the principle of righteousness the sovereign place in the spiritual life, whatever may otherwise be their philosophical or religious opinions, shall be eligible as lecturers of Societies.

Here then, it will be observed, the movement presents itself in an entirely altered attitude. It does not at all approach religion from a credal standpoint. It does no longer reject anything more than morality in the case, as unwarranted and illegitimate. It no longer regards the true content of religion and morality as identical but contents itself with simply announcing the basic importance and the priority of the ethical factor in religion. With Herbert Spencer, it asserts that the social mechanism does not rest finally upon opinions, but rather upon character, and that the establishment of beliefs depends upon the fitness of society for receiving them. What a man thinks is the result of what he is, and it is the moral fitness of self, therefore, the conduct and experience of the individual, which should form the base out of which a universal, vital and practical creed must be developed. As Dr. Adler puts it: (quoted in (10)): "It is not at all the mission of the movement to furnish a complete new belief, a well formulated philosophy of life. For true religion, a blossom rather than a root, is a result and not a beginning. The one who on the threshold of life says to himself: What I need before I act and live, is a creed to guide and sanction my conduct of life, is laboring under a delusion. What he should say is: Before I can acquire a true religion it is necessary for me to collect out of my own way of living the empirical facts out of which to construct my creed."

As the movement progresses in time, its course of development assumes a truly remarkable aspect. The child of abandoned faith and scepticism, it has grown into what may be called an ethical movement in religion which, although outside of the churches, is not at all antagonistic to them. In fact, it shows an ever-increasing tendency to be in the least possible degree controversial and a disposition to assume a more and more friendly attitude toward the churches. While still adhering to the conviction "that moral truth is the main proposition from which religious belief, if deduced at all, must follow as a corrolary,"

all controversies are eclipsed by the call for personal devotion, the demand for self-discipline and wisdom, the gospel of righteousness.— Can this be called religion? Is it sufficient for those who have deep religious emotions? — The question seems one which the individual must decide. For, as Siebeck rightly says: "A peculiar world, which precisely fits man's subjective needs, is the world of Religion"! (quoted in 13, a.)

Ethical Societies in England.

Ethical Societies in England, although they developed under another set of leaders, and independently of the Movement for Ethical Culture in the United States, nevertheless, were an outgrowth of the American movement. In 1885 a few University men in London became acquainted with the aims and methods of the latter and, believing that there was a scope for somewhat similar work in England, they resolved to form a society "for the purpose of co-operating in the establishment and exposition of the true principles of social morality."

In England, perhaps more than in the United States, scientific discoveries and biblical criticism had severely shaken the influence of theological teaching and, with agnosticism in the ascendancy, a number of other factors, which further on will be dealt with at greater detail, seemed to combine in creating a particularly favorable field for the establishment of such an institution. Profiting by experience, and converting the stumbling blocks of their American colleagues into stepping stones for themselves, the leaders recognized, from the start, the necessity of being constructive rather than destructive in their action. As a consequence, the attitude of their Society towards theology and its exponents differed from that of the first American Society by the adoption of a strict policy of non-interference or neutrality. Thereby they not only avoided one of the greatest handicaps which the movement in the United States has had to contend with, but, knowing their fellow-countrymen as they did, they pursued the only possible course which promised any degree of success. "There are two points," writes W. Cunningham (5), "in the mental attitude of Englishmen, which are at least less noticeable in other communities. There is, for one thing, a remarkably strong historic sense and regard for tradition. We have long prized our own, we have more lately learned to be respectful in our attitude towards those of other races.

The sentiments of other peoples, as embodied in their literature and institutions, have been treated with marked tenderness during the greatest part of the nineteenth century. So far are we from trying to stamp them out and force English habits of thought upon other peoples, that we are sedulous in the effort to exercise our influence to preserve and foster rather than to supersede."

What is here said in regard to peoples, may, perhaps, be equally well applied as to the English mental attitude of individuals towards individuals. Being deeply impressed by the historic value of the national creeds, the attitude of those estranged from the church is preferably one of "*laissez faire*" rather than of active opposition, and there exists in those moving for a wider view of Christian dogma, a deep-rooted disinclination to break with traditional forms.

Considering then these conditions, and appreciating the fact that in certain localities, especially in country places, the church represented the only spiritual life of the people, the leaders desired to be positive rather than negative. Nevertheless, it is self evidently more than probable that then, as is the case in many Societies at the present time, there existed a right and left wing, some few members being anxious to actively hasten the progress of rational thought, while others were more profoundly and hopefully in sympathy with all that appealed to them as best in the familiar creeds.

The first Society, established in 1886, was known as the "London Ethical Society," and in 1896 the North London, the South London, the West London and the East London Societies, which in the meantime had come into existence, combined and formed the so-called "Union of Ethical Societies." A short time afterwards the Battersea and the Portsmouth Ethical Societies joined the Union. Outside of this organization existed the London, the Belfast, the South Place and the Cambridge Ethical Societies. The total membership of these Societies at that time, according to a report of the secretary of the Union, was about 700, while to-day the membership of the Societies in London alone reaches nearly double that number.

At the present time the Union is composed of 23 Societies. Among the new additions the following may be mentioned as the more important: The Bradford, the Rochester, the Glasgow, the Greenwich, the West Ham, and the Edinburgh University Societies.

Unlike the Societies in the United States, English Societies, on

the whole, have none of the characteristics of a church. They may, indeed, be fitly described as lecturing and debating societies, with or without the addition of practical work, which, where attempted, to a certain extent resembles that in the United States. As a rule, they do not care for the services of an appointed lecturer but prefer to hear speakers who are independent. This absence of the strong influence of the personality and personal opinions of a permanent lecturer is declared to result in making English Societies more democratic than American Societies, and the discussions following each lecture have a tendency to arouse a more general ethical spirit among the members and increase their zeal for intellectual progress. Dr. Stanton Coit, of New York, formerly at the head of the South Place Society and now with the West London Society, is the only regularly appointed lecturer at the present time.

From the foregoing brief statement it would seem that the movement in England has taken root more readily and is gaining ground more rapidly than that of the United States. And if one looks for the causes which are responsible for bringing about this result, even a somewhat hasty consideration may suffice for making a few of these quite obvious.

There are current many widely differing views as to the elements of which human welfare consists and as to the relative importance of the factors which contribute towards it. Few, however, will venture to dispute the fact that material conditions and personal faculties and character react on one another. Where the days of men are fully occupied with the provision of the bare necessities of life, they have neither leisure nor inclination to acquire knowledge or a wider conception of the total meaning of life. But when no longer confronted by the necessity of spending all their energies in the improvement of economic conditions, men are more apt to concentrate them in building up their spiritual self and promoting the spread of education.

I do not by any means intend to assert that, generally speaking, conditions in England are more favorable in that respect than in the United States, nor to assign it as a reason for the lack of growth of the American movement. There are other reasons why that movement fails to reach the masses. But if one casts a glance upon social conditions in England, one must be struck by the character and work of the associations of English workingmen. Perhaps nowhere else as in

England have public opinion and the formal law of the country passed from their early opposition to trade unions, through criticism and reluctant toleration, to an almost complete acceptance and even encouragement, until to-day they have become a part of the regularly established institutions of the country. In fact, so assured seems their position and so completely have they passed the acute stage of battle for recognition of the elementary rights of the classes, that there has arisen the danger of the labor movement becoming stagnant. A fresh motive was needed, and its leaders were looking for new inspiration.

In many countries where labor is still struggling for primary consideration at the hands of the government, it is not yet secure in the enjoyment of the power of association to attend to its own interest and is, therefore, apt, from a sense of official want of sympathy, to ally itself with the socialist or anarchist opposition to the established order. In England, however, this anti-preparation for social welfare is of the past, and the mind of the better educated class of workingmen, of which trade unions are composed, is more susceptible to the higher problems of human social life.

Again, if one were asked to name a parallel mental characteristic to the Englishman's deep regard for historical tradition, it is undoubtedly his principle of fair play, for all men to attain to the best that is in them, and a tendency to repulse attempts of interference with his individual rights. In England, as in nearly every country where religious instruction forms a part of the curriculum of public schools, a struggle is on between the various sects for the right of bringing to account their own particular theological views. Catholics maintain that their children should be instructed by their priests, surrounded by the symbols of their ceremonial; Protestants want the Bible and catechism interpreted in the spirit of "their" church; Hebrews object to the teaching of the New Testament, while Secularists regard all religious instruction in the public schools as a violation of the individual right of parents to bring up their children in accordance with their own beliefs. With moral education and the endeavor to separate Ethics and Religion as the central thought of the Ethical Movement and with the foundation in 1897 of the so-called "Moral Instruction League," to promote the introduction of moral instead of religious instruction in the public schools, it must be obvious that, by many,

Ethical Societies were looked upon as institutions after their own heart.

One other factor may be mentioned as favorable to the growth of the movement. In looking for means of checking the misery and wretchedness of the lower classes, the upper classes have become impressed with the need of a radical and more universal influence upon will-power as the means for a social renaissance. They have come to believe that, although by means of philanthropic endeavor it has been possible to alleviate much distress, it is a rather degenerate conception of welfare on which this sentiment has been based and that those, after all, are helped best, who are helped to help themselves.

Having thus far indicated conditions favorable to the movement, it is perhaps in order to point out some obstacles by which it is confronted. Foremost in this connection must be mentioned the church. Not so much on account of active opposition, but because the church, conscious of her power, almost entirely ignores the movement. The church in England, while in a measure bound up with the historic past, is at the same time thoroughly in touch with the spirit of the present age. However conservative in other respects, she has shown a peculiar aptitude for unifying old forms with more modern requirements, and instead of antagonizing them, has taken the lead in many humanitarian efforts of reform. As a consequence, even agnostics, together with all the best citizens, recognize in the church an institution which, on the whole, satisfactorily tends to benefit the spiritual life of the people. In spite, then, of all disagreements and secular tendencies, in no other country of the world perhaps does the influence of the church upon the educated of all classes compare with that in England, and thus, as Dr. Stanton Coit relates, while many of them are heartily in sympathy with the aims of the Ethical Movement, where 500 sympathize, hardly one can be found who feels prompted to join (10 No. 2).

Logically connected with this regard for the church is the tendency to arbitrate disputed questions, and to compromise rather than oppose. "After all," writes J. R. Seeley (21), "Christianity is the original Ethical Society. . . . It is a pity that in a Christian country it should be necessary to found Ethical Societies at all; it would be arrogant, and, at the same time, it would be suicidal, for these Societies to hold themselves aloof from the Christianity of the country. Rather let the

new influence blend freely with, and even be prepared to lose itself in, the old. . . . I am in favor of what some have called compromise. Surely we moderns do not believe much in cataclysms. Development is our word. The present grows out of the past. The most vital, the most influential ethical teaching of the present day ought to grow out of Christianity." These utterings typically illustrate the inherent disinclination of educated heterodox Englishmen entirely to break away from the church and lead to the conclusion that, although, as indicated by the establishment of numerous new Societies, the movement apparently was making rapid progress, its spiritual influence, judged by the standard of the American movement, was relatively small.

From what has heretofore been said it must be clear that the path of least resistance to success points in the direction of the so-called middle and workingmen's classes, and it is indeed from here that the greater part of the membership of these Societies seems to have been recruited. While such men as Prof. Muirhead, Bosanquet, Bonar and others, upon whom the ethical influence of Thomas H. Green, of Oxford, had been profound, were identified with the establishment of the first Society, and such as Seeley, Caird, Leslie Stephen, and Sidgwick felt the importance of the new ethical propaganda, early in its history the movement came into close contact with the Labor Movement of the country, a fact which not only explains its success with the masses, but which proved of great significance for shaping its future course.

Its drift may well be conjectured by noticing some of the changes in the title of a Periodical which, edited by Stanton Coit and J. A. Hobson, is being published as the organ of the Ethical Union. It made its appearance in 1898 as "The Ethical World," to which in January, 1900, was added: "devoted to the progress of democratic morality." Later in the same year this was changed into "an organ of democracy in religion, education, art and politics." Finally, in 1901, the word "Ethical" was relegated to the rear, and it assumed the title: "Democracy,—an organ of ethical progress." These changes clearly reflect the tendency of the movement to ally itself more and more closely with the democratic movement of that country.

As is well known, the English government has, as an essential characteristic, an oscillation, which places the supreme authority alternately in the hands of two opposing political parties, the stratification of which is historic rather than economic. From time immemorial, cer-

tain families and localities have been attached to one party or the other, independent of any present utility. In contemporary society, however, the distinction between the political parties and the social classes is no longer strictly maintained. In the struggle for existence, present interests have created affinities which outweigh all others. Separated at the beginning of modern times by a relatively low barrier, a gulf has opened up between the social classes, who are gradually becoming transformed into parties, each one of which attempts to make use of the law to protect itself and to fortify its position. Looked at from the distance the parties are composed of the gentry, that is the class of great landed proprietors and the leaders of industry on the one hand, and the agricultural and operative classes on the other.

It was largely of these latter, we have seen, that Societies of the Ethical Union were made up; hence, bearing the former facts in mind, future developments in the Movement, to a certain extent, were to be foreseen.

Being, for instance, obliged to look for financial support mainly to the working classes, it was to be expected that the movement would be hampered by a lack of funds. As a consequence, it was compelled, for a number of years, to enlarge its membership by individual solicitation. Although consoled by the thought that numerical strength, after all, is only a means to the end, it was recognized that smallness of number, as illustrated by the history of the sects, is apt to lead to idiosyncracies and to one-sidedness of convictions. Not, however, until 1898, when the so-called "Society of Ethical Propagandists" was formed, did they succeed in pushing organization on a larger scale.

Originally the object of the Ethical Union was thus defined:

(1) By purely natural and human means to assist individual and social efforts of right living.

(2) To free the current ideal of what is right, from all that which is merely traditional or self-contradictory, and thus to enlarge it and perfect it.

(3) To assist in constructing a theory or science of right, which, starting with the reality and validity of moral distinctions, shall explain their mental and social origin, and connect them in a logical system of thought.

In 1901, however, this programme was amended by the addition of an article which reads as follows:

(4) To emphasize the moral factor in all personal, social, political and international relations.

This change evidently was intended as an opening for the growing tendency to identify the problems of the Ethical Movement with democracy.

The initiative for this coalition was taken by the leaders of the labor-movement, who, in the growing political power of the masses, observed with alarm the first signs of democratic corruption. Men in the employ of the cities attempted to use their influence as voters for the purpose of securing material advantages for themselves, and, in the course of a few years, abuses had grown to such dimensions that many became convinced that, without an extension of their ethical horizon, the laboring classes were unequal to the occasion of grappling successfully even with the most immediate propositions. As a consequence, they became imbued with the idea that, while possibly political and economical conditions might be improved by other means, the highest reaches of social order could only be attained, when civil institutions were permeated by a high sense of public duty, when individual rights also implied individual duties, and when actions reflected ethical ideals and hopes.

It is obvious, however, that men relatively low in the cultural scale, might have found it difficult to grasp such lofty aims. The masses are not wont to revel in abstractions. A faintly indicated ideal of "the good and happy life" is too alien to the ordinary mind. In England, moreover, if certain authors are to be believed, this feebleness of the power of abstraction is more pronounced than elsewhere. And again, it has been often said that the English nation is above all things utilitarian, in fact, that every form of moral obligation historically originated in a question of utility. Whether this be true or not, one must admit that the average Englishman is exceedingly practical. Action for action's sake, is the foremost, the guiding principle of his life, and his mind preferably is impelled towards concrete realities. Hence it seems not at all surprising, that to certain members of Ethical Societies "to strive for the objective good" was an aim too far removed, that their ideals craved for outward expression, for practical application to the immediate conditions and necessities of life, and that their dearest hopes centred in the establishment of a new and higher Social-Democracy.

Nevertheless, it must not be understood that this course was coun-

tenanced by all members of Ethical Societies. There were those who believed that the label "democracy" would repel a great many high-minded and clear-sighted men and women, to whom this word, brought down from the times of Attic mobocracy, might seem least of all adapted to express the social and political hopes of the present age. Taking their cue from the Platonic interpretation of the term, they pointed out that κρ ατος, force, power of the multitude, suggests only absence of all direction, principle, or originative rule, and that to many, in fact, it might seem but another name for anarchy. While such a name, therefore, may serve to attract all so-called radicals, they held it to be of greater consequence for true progress to meet the doubts of the more thoughtful and resisting upper classes by avoiding, even in regard to externalities, all possible chance of misinterpretation. They by no means underestimated the importance of attending to the practical questions of the day, but insisted that they be studied dispassionately and objectively, and, above all, emphasized the need of accentuating, again and again, the fact that social and political attainments, in order to be of real value, must be accompanied by an individual adjustment, moral as well as intellectual.

That these opinions carried some weight is again to be seen from subsequent changes in the title of the official periodical. It was successively called "Ethics," "Ethical Review," and finally changed back to its original title.

Dr. Stanton Coit's conception of the movement had been, from the very beginning, that ethical culture is destined to replace the church and religion of the past. He went, indeed, so far as to propose the abolishment of the words "culture society," and to adopt the name "Ethical church." By so doing he evidently hoped to be able to ally to the movement the so-called labor churches and kindred groups of free thinkers. These labor churches were a kind of free religious associations with conspicuously ethical tendencies. They were sometimes called the Salvation Army of the better educated workingmen classes. But although closely related in tendency of thought, efforts to merge them in the Ethical Movement were met with unexpected resistance. The maxim "morality as our God," whereby the moral ideal is posited as the *one* object of reverence and trust, did not appeal to a large part of their membership. They were not prepared to reject their belief in immortality, to repudiate veneration for the infinite and the absolute,

and insisted on bringing their Ethics in accord with these ideas. Notwithstanding these divergences, five labor churches were finally induced in 1902 to join the Union of Ethical Societies.

Being composed of all these varying elements it follows that the movement in England could not be expected to exhibit that unanimity of aim which characterizes the Societies for Ethical Culture in the United States. There is the aggressive group, whose aim is social reconstruction, and which sharply criticises all theology; the quietistic group, which in contemplative retirement prefers to cultivate the inner life; the ritualistic Society, which surrounds the gospel of humanity by a cult full of ceremonies, music and brilliant equipment; the idealistic sects, who proclaim the doctrine of self-perfectionism as a continuous approach to the spirit of the Universe; the utilitarians, who want to judge all private and political actions with the handy measure of universal hedonism; the anthropologists, who try to elucidate the problems of conduct by research of primitive culture; and, last but not least, the poetically inclined, who render in melody and verse their human inspirations and hopes (10 No. 2).

This apparent lack of cohesion, however, is due, perhaps in a greater measure, to the comprehensiveness of the purpose of the movement, and shows the difficulty, for a purely practical organization without a definite working basis, to maintain effectively so extended an aim as that of bettering the general moral standard.

There remains under the film of all these differences, as the one common aspiration, the effort to mould the moral personality. "Character and right conduct are the most important factors in life," is that which is stated or implied in the manifestoes of all Societies and moral instruction, therefore, may be said to be the centre of gravity toward which all forces converge. The London Ethical Society cultivates particularly the academic study of Ethics. It called into life the so-called "School of Ethics and Social Philosophy," where courses in moral philosophy are given, arranged in such a manner as to lay no undue stress upon any one of the current ethical theories. More recently it has increased its activities by offering courses of lectures to local Ethical Societies in London. Among the courses for 1905 the following may be mentioned. Prof. Patrick Geddes "Evolutionary Ethics based on Natural Science and Sociology," Dr. Stanton Coit "The Dynamics of Democracy" and "The Philosophic Conception of

the Church," Rev. R. H. Greaves "The Evolution of Christian Doctrine," and Mr. Harry Snell "Famous Cities, their history and evolution." Besides these courses, classes are held in German, French and Esperanto.

The chief efforts, however, of all Societies are concentrated upon the teaching of moral ideas to the young and, more specifically, upon the introduction into the public schools of moral, in place of, or at least independent of, religious instruction. To promote this aim the so-called Moral Instruction League was formed, an organization which originated in 1897 at a meeting called for this purpose, and attended by delegates from a number of Ethical Societies, from branches of the Social-Democratic Federation, and from the Independent Labor Party. The agitation also had the support of Mr. Frederic Harrison, the leader of the English Positivists.

The introduction of moral instruction in the schools is opposed, principally, because it is held that, eventually, it might be used as a weapon against the church. But, as the league contends, wrongfully so, for this instruction, it points out, has nothing to do with religion. Its necessity arises exclusively from pedagogical and social causes. While sound pedagogy demands that all instruction begin with that which lies nearest, religious instruction begins with the highest mysterium. How can a child, it is asked, understand the divine sacrifice incumbent in the death of Christ if it has never experienced what it means to make a sacrifice? The mind of children should not be weighted down with these deeper things before moral instruction has built a bridge between Bible and life and has prepared an intellectual path to the highest spheres of life.

Moreover, it is argued by the leaders of the movement that even its opponents, in a way, almost daily, yes hourly, introduce some kind of moral instruction, unfortunately, however, usually at the most inopportune time. They scold and preach morals, when some little offense has been committed, when the teacher is excited, the pupil defiant, and when neither is in full control of his mental powers. Thus the child only hears of the moral law when it is punished in its name. Others speak as if there were something shameful in mentioning virtue directly, but perfect propriety in smuggling it in under pretence of geography, history or what not. The new pedagogy differs from this kind of instruction merely by choosing the correct psychological

moment for its discussions, by shaping them, not to fit one particular case, but by considering impersonally the larger moral problems of life, and finally, by planning and imparting the lessons "systematically."

The activities of the League consist of propaganda, attempts to elect for legislative offices men who are pledged to its aims, and petitions to the educational authorities. For a number of years their efforts were not conspicuously successful. The educational act of 1902 provides in regard to religious instruction no significant changes from the famous "conscience clause" of the act of 1870, by which "admission to the school must not be conditional on a child's attendance or non-attendance at any Sunday-school or any place of religious worship outside the school, or at any religious observance or instruction in religious subjects inside the school or elsewhere, from which he may be withdrawn by his parent."

Lately, however, the perseverance of the work of the League has made more impression and in some quarters has even produced visible results. In 1902 Leicester's Education Committee consented to introduce moral instruction, and weekly half-hour moral lessons have since then been given to the children in all the standards of the Leicester Council Schools. The following is a condensed version of the first official report:

(1) The children almost universally like the moral instruction as a class-subject, and even elect to have it when a choice is presented by the teacher.

(2) The teachers generally like it, but this is not so much the case in regard to the younger teachers, who feel the difficulty of the subject.

(3) Some of the head teachers think it least profitable in the lower Standards. The inspector adds, however, that all subjects in these standards are liable to the same remark. He thinks that at these stages the children are specially plastic to moral impressions.

(4) The lessons should be more conversational. They are already so in some schools, and in these schools the instruction is found to be an aid to discipline.

(5) In general, the inspector thinks, the introduction of the subject has done good.

Having once shown the practicability of systematic non-theological

Moral Instruction, which, in the opinion of the League, is the only solution of the present religious difficulty in education, its progress has been a more rapid one, and from the present outlook it seems not too much to say, that the attainment of its ultimate aim, a national system of universal secular education, is merely a question of time. Up to 1906 over fifty Education Authorities have taken some definite action in the direction of the proposals of the Moral Instruction League. Twenty-seven Education Authorities, including seven counties, sixteen boroughs, four urban districts, and comprising more than 3,000 schools, have now provision, or have decided to make provision, for systematic Moral Instruction. In nearly every instance this provision is made in addition to the Scripture Lessons and as part of the secular curriculum of both provided and non-provided schools. A number of Education Authorities have adopted, with very slight modifications, a "Graduated Syllabus of Moral Instruction and Training in Citizenship" for elementary schools, issued by the League. This Syllabus is the result of the prolonged deliberations of a Special Committee of the League, assisted by expert advice from many directions. The figures in the Syllabus (which can be obtained from the League), do not necessarily imply that the lessons are to be given in that particular order. Much is left to the individual genius of the teacher, who is advised, however, upon the following points:

To extol the good, rather than warn against evil. To take a broad and organic view of life. To inculcate a love for inanimate nature, of plant and animal life, of science, and of the beautiful. To encourage a love of the thorough in all its forms. To lead the child to see that the moral ideal applies to feelings and thoughts as much as to outward conduct. To choose illustrations from nature and history rather than from fiction.

The following text-books are recommended:

For young children.

Alice M. Chesterton. The Garden of Childhood.

For children aged 10 to 14 years.

F. J. Gould. The Children's Book of Moral Lessons.

A. J. Waldegrave. The Teacher's Handbook of Moral Lessons.

H. H. Quilter. Onward and Upward.

F. W. Hackwood. Notes of Lessons On Moral Subjects. (40 lessons for the use of teachers only.)

For older scholars.
C. C. Everett. Ethics For Young People.

Germany.

In Germany, the Movement for Ethical Culture is represented by the so-called "Gesellschaft für ethische Kultur," consisting of a number of divisions and branches which are located at Berlin, Breslau, Danzig, Darmstadt, Dresden, Frankfurt a./M., Freiburg, Hamburg, Jena, Königsberg, Leipzig, Magdeburg, München, Münden, Offenburg, Oranienburg, Stuttgart, Tilsit, Ulm, and Wiesbaden, twenty in all. A majority of these have a membership of from 80 to 200; a few exceed this number, while the division at Berlin, as might be expected, is by far the largest. The total membership of the Society fluctuates between 2,000 and 3,000, thus equalling numerically the Movement in the United States.

Five members in a locality suffice for the establishment of a branch, while more than fifteen members are required for the formation of a division. Each branch chooses annually a so-called Obmann, who combines the offices of chairman and treasurer, and a so-called Revisor, whose functions are those of an auditor. At the head of each division is a President, a Vice-president, a Secretary and a Vice-Secretary, constituting a Board of Directors which, if occasion requires it, may be re-enforced by the election of three additional members. The auditing is here performed by two Revisors.

Unlike American Societies, these divisions and branches are not accustomed to meet regularly on Sundays but arrange to have meetings once a week or once a fortnight, preferably on week days, to listen to a discourse on social or ethical topics, which is followed by a general discussion. For purposes of propaganda, or whenever it seems desirable to influence public opinion in matters of public interest, public lectures are given. More recently, some of the prominent men in the movement have been appointed itinerant lecturers. They propagate the principles and aims of the movement for the purpose of establishing new Societies, visit already existing ones and deliver courses of lectures.

The affairs of the movement as a whole are looked after by an Executive Committee (Hauptvorstand), consisting of from 15 to 21

members, at least 7 of which must be residents of Berlin or its suburbs. Its main functions are propaganda, external representation of the movement, administration of financial affairs, subsidizing divisions for special purposes and the appointment and direction of the so called Gesellschaftstag. The latter must take place, at least, once in two years but usually assumes the form of an annual congress. It is participated in by delegates from the various divisions, each one of which is entitled to a delegate for every 100, or part thereof, of its membership, and by 5 representatives of the Executive Committee. Here the latter's report is received, a new Committee is chosen, and questions of common interest are deliberated upon.

Of the practical works of the German Societies the following deserve mention :

(1) The Bureau of Charities, which gives personal or written assistance to persons in need of help, or information, based on reports by local charitable institutions, to those who desire to help others.

(2) Systematic instruction to members of the Charity Bureau by means of (a) correspondence and investigation by the members, and (b) lectures, conferences and reports.

(3) Systematic and scientific study of relief work on ethical lines.

(4) The establishment of public libraries and of public reading rooms in some of the cities, institutions which do not abound in Germany.

(5) Public lecture courses on questions of law, of economics, of hygiene and of education, have been organized by some of the divisions.

(6) Popular Sunday evening entertainments during the winter, which, by a merely nominal admission fee, are calculated to appeal to the masses.

(7) Moral instruction for the children of members, provided by most of the divisions.

Under the supervision of Dr. Rudolph Penzig, author of " Ernste Antworten auf Kinderfragen," the movement issues a semi-monthly Periodical " Ethische Kultur," an organ for the promotion of ethical and social reforms, and a monthly supplement, consisting of leaflets for moral education, called Kinderland.

Finally, it may be mentioned that in 1894 the Society offered a prize of 4,000 marks to the author of the best popular handbook of

Ethics, based on scientific methods, to be used by teachers and parents for the inculcation of purely ethical principles without religious, metaphysical or materialistic bias. In 1897, however, a committee, appointed for the purpose of examining them, decided "that none of the 22 books which had been submitted met the requirements in such a manner as to deserve the prize. The competitive prize offer was consequently withdrawn and a standing offer of about $500.00 for a satisfactory handbook was substituted. In 1904 a portion of this price was awarded to Dr. A. Döring's "Handbuch der natürlich-menschlichen Sittenlehre für Eltern und Erzieher."

Like the English movement, the Movement for Ethical Culture in Germany received its impetus from the United States. It was G. von Gyzicki's translation of Salter's book "An Ethical Religion" which first aroused interest in the aims of the movement and a visit to Berlin in the spring of 1892 by Dr. Adler directly culminated in the establishment of the first German Ethical Society, the division at Berlin. In connection with a discourse upon "Ethical Societies in the United States," which Dr. Adler delivered, he conferred with a small circle of friends on the advisability of transplanting these institutions to German soil. A preliminary circular (Vorbereitende Mitteilungen eines Kreises gleichgesinnter Männer und Frauen) was published and later invitations for a general assembly were sent to all those who were thought to be in sympathy with the ideas which the movement espouses. This assembly met on October 18th, 1892, and was attended by a number of prominent men, of which some, *e. g.*, Prof. Tönnis of Kiel, and Prof. Häckel of Jena, had journeyed to Berlin expressly for that purpose. On November 6th of the same year the Society was formally established with Dr. Förster, Professor at the Berlin University and Director of the Royal Observatory, at the head of the Berlin division, which started with 200 members. On the same day the divisions at Kiel, Magdeburg, Breslau, Frankfurt a/M., Jena and Freiburg were admitted. The total membership at that time was in the neighborhood of 500.

In its origin the German movement bears a close resemblance to the English movement, because, as there, its leaders were University men, and again, as in England, the movement spread rapidly to other cities.

Two factors chiefly may be said to have been responsible for this.

While it is true that historically the movement was brought over

from the United States, one would not be wrong in asserting that by gaining ground in Germany, it only returned to its spiritual point of departure and naturally found there a soil prepared for it. It was in Germany, it will be remembered, that Dr. Adler had completed his studies and taken his degree. It was in Germany where the negation of the 18th century was overwhelmed by the constructive philosophical systems of the early decades of the 19th, only in turn to go down again before the onslaught of the empirical and historical sciences. It was here where Kant had held that all religion should be referred to morality; that morality will lead to religion; that the church is an ethical community which interprets virtue as divine commands. And to this very day his dictum of the categorical imperative has remained the key note of German intellectual and ethical life. Indeed it is hard to conceive the vast influence which the Königsberg philosopher, in spite of the powerful reaction emanating from the researches of Darwin, still exercises over the best German minds.

On the other hand, it was also in Germany where the issue of Kant's Dialectic of Pure Reason, according to which ideas may be not only possible but even necessary to thought without our being able to predicate objective truth of them and which obviously is the fundamental principle of scepticism, was often taken literally.

It was here where, protesting against the anthropomorphic notion of God, which in his eyes was blasphemy, and against the exclusiveness and hostility to nature of dogmatic Christianity because it appeared too small and too narrow, Göthe wrote: "He who has science and art, has religion."

It was here, where Krause, although in the spirit of genuine Protestantism, maintained that religion is not primarily a social relation of man to man, but an affair of the individual, an affair concerning his own innermost and most private life, which is to be known and lived originally by him.

In a word, to a certain extent, it was German philosophy and German criticism which had germinated the ideas out of which the Movement for Ethical Culture evolved.

A second factor, and the immediate cause for the keen interest of German free thinkers in the movement, was the presentation in 1892 of a reactionary school regulation by the Prussian minister von Zedlitz-Trützschler. Disturbed by the progress of liberal ideas and

forced by political conditions to make concessions to the church, the government attempted to establish closer connections between elementary education and religion and between the teaching staff and the clergy. Although the project never succeeded in advancing beyond the preliminary stage, the clerical claims to control of the schools increased in such a measure and the church, reversing her ordinary attitude in the so called Kulturkampf, became so aggressive that the state and the liberal minded withstood the pressure only by active resistance. A modest publication by Prof. Förster aroused the fearless liberal press to spreading the cry of alarm and rallied all those who looked upon secularization of the schools as the Palladium of liberty.

In view of this parentage it was but to be expected that in Germany the relations between the movement and the church reassumed that antagonistic character which in America is apparently a thing of the past. This antagonism evinced itself from the very first, even during a discussion of the prospective constitution of the Society, when many unhesitatingly demanded openly that a position against the church should be taken. Although nominally favoring a neutral attitude, this hostile undercurrent has, to a certain degree, persisted up to the present time. At the annual congress in Munich in the fall of 1903 the position of the movement with regard to religious organizations was defined as follows:

(1) The German Society for Ethical Culture as such takes a position of strictest neutrality upon all questions relating to the origin of the universe.

(2) Towards a stand on part of the churches denying the right of existence to a purely human and natural Ethics, the defence of our principles is, of course, our right and our duty.

(3) In addition, however, it is our duty, in the case of religious organizations, as everywhere, to proceed aggressively and polemically against ethically objectionable doctrines and institutions.

(4) The Society regards as one of its chief demands the secularization of the state and above all of the public schools.

(5) In the public schools it is the duty of the state to provide uniformly the most effective moral education and ethical instruction which is within reach, that is to say, one which takes a non-theological form.

(6) With regard to the interests of the family and of religious

denominations, the secular school should, in connection with moral instruction, observe strict neutrality. It must avoid offense against these interests, but it must not in any way advance them.

A neutrality expressed in such terms is certainly not conducive to the establishment of friendly relations. Nor is, on consideration, such a relationship, except in theory, at all conceivable. In view of the aims of the movement, on the one hand, and of the political and social conditions in Germany, on the other, practical success was impossible without a conflict with that organization which denied to the movement the right of existence. Antagonism on part of the church, however, means a great deal more in Germany than in England or in the United States. The constitution of the German empire, to be sure, beyond guaranteeing to all citizens freedom of conscience in religious belief, leaves the domain of religion severely alone and gives the various states freedom to manage their ecclesiastical concerns as they like. Nevertheless, this guarantee of religious liberty is only partially discharged. Each state having its own established church, the state takes religion under its wing to an extent which is difficult to credit. In Prussia, for instance, not only a considerable part of the emoluments of the clergy comes from the public treasury but so far is the state from adopting the theories of religious equality that, in some instances, within a relatively recent period, churches have been built out of municipal funds, and church rates are still being levied indiscriminately on entire communities for the maintenance of public worship. Moreover, it is in Germany a theory of the law that every Protestant is a member of the state church unless by legal proceeding he has formally seceded, and again, the law protects not only religion but also the church against any indignity in public speech or writing. These facts the church does not lose sight of and the ecclesiastical authorities are not only not slow in taking advantage of the privileges which they convey but, relying on the mutual dependence of church and state, they assume prerogatives which exceed their legal right. If it happens that men in public places are found associating themselves with schismatical or heterodox movements, they are warned by the heads of the church, and knowing her power, such warnings are generally heeded. Only a few years ago, seven teachers and professors at Dresden were obliged to withdraw from the Movement for Ethical Culture or run the risk of losing their positions.

But while the church, as indicated, is a powerful obstacle to the movement, the very factor which apparently gives her so much power involves, at the same time, an element of weakness which prevents her from attaining in the spiritual sphere a position proportionate to her opportunities and thereby creates conditions favorable to the development of a movement like the Ethical Movement. Regarding the educated classes, to be sure, this is of little consequence, for here religion, as a rule, is a matter more of the intellect than of the heart. Hence, among them, at all times, an abundance of highminded and even deeply religiously inclined people may be found, who are rarely seen inside of a church. In the past, the middle and working classes usually have been the main stay of the church. In the words of Lessing "the best Christians have always been found among the people who knew least of theology." To-day, if one excepts the rural districts, the influence of the church among the working classes is on the decline. And the principal reason for it is their distrust, based on the probably well founded belief that she has allowed herself to become the handmaid of a political system which is strongly antagonistic to their personal interests. This loss of strength, moreover, became disastrous to her influence among the middle classes where, owing to her lack of expansiveness and her failure to respond to modern demands, many have lapsed into a spirit of indifferentism. Here then were conditions particularly propitious for the development of an Ethical Movement after the pattern of the movement in the United States, that is to say, along religious lines. If, notwithstanding, the movement developed in another direction and on the whole progressed rather slowly, that was due not so much to an opposing force from without but rather to the unfavorable general spirit and tendency of the times and to inner conditions which grew out thereof. The two propositions being thus closely connected we must consider them together.

Germany, undoubtedly with good right, has been called the land of idealism *par excellence*. German idealism was in its zenith after that great French warrior Napoleon the First had made a clean sweep of the political chessboard of Europe. With Prussia vanquished and humbled to the dust, the best qualities of the nation awoke, inciting a general striving after the ideally true and beautiful and inspiring the aspirations of genius to their loftiest flights. This was especially the

case in literature, in education and in philosophy, in which Germany, at that period, produced some of her most illustrious representatives. In politics, likewise, where the course of history so plainly showed the ruinous effects of despotism, Germany's philosophers of that period were the prophets of ideals which later helped to bind her scattered states into a powerful nation and which, in general, enriched the mind of mankind. Immediate attempts, however, to evolve a system that would aid the fatherland in its plight, had proved futile. In politics, German Idealism scored its saddest failures. Then came the era of William the First and Bismarck, in which a rare combination, the national tendency to idealize allied to the rugged common sense of action, for the first time fulfilled the national dream of unity. What idealism had vainly striven for was here realized with blood and iron, by brute force and unscrupulousness. And the splendor and apparent solidity of the edifice has dazzled contemporary society to such an extent that one is forced to ask, whether military and industrial success have changed the national bent. Since the establishment of the German empire, German "Kultur" has almost completely surrendered to the spirit of the so-called "Realpolitik", which holds captive not only the representatives of the ruling politics but all classes alike down to the working classes, the bearers of democracy. Poetry seems to have deserted her; her philosophy betrays the dominance of material interests; the attention of all is monopolized by material success and the struggle for it; idealism has given way to mercantile instincts, to the feverish haste to be rich and to enjoy.

The reason for this change is surely not difficult to fathom. It is the apparent impunity of the successful pursuance of a reckless policy of force associated with the relative impotence of the former idealistic efforts which has throttled the belief in the historical power of the ethical ideal. And it is the prevailing delusion that humanity progresses not by spontaneous growth of truth, of sympathy and of knowledge, but rather by what the French call the "grandes actions" which make the masses turn a deaf ear to the pleading of the Ethical Movement "that the fundamental creative forces of true social development can be called to life only in the depths of the individual soul." Nietzsche's demand for a revision of the whole Christian moral code and for a reversion of its most characteristic provisions was symptomatic of the egoistic tendencies of the age.

Rebellion against the existing order inevitably brings the recalcitrant party into closer touch with those who already are questioning the validity of some of the principles on which society rests. This is exactly what happened in the case of the Movement for Ethical Culture. With the working classes contaminated by the spirit of the Realpolitik and tending towards practical materialism, it was deemed to be the first duty of the movement to open the eyes of the Proletaire to larger views of his needs for a truly human existence. To do so, it was necessary to take a lively interest in the social, economic and political questions of the day and, by immediate intervention in the social conflict, the movement was forced at once into active participation in outside movements, which involved the taking of a definite stand on certain issues. Let us cast a glance at a statement of principles which was accepted by the movement at the annual congress in 1901. It reads as follows:

(1) The German Society for Ethical Culture strives for a state of human society in which ethical aspirations and ethical insight rule decisively and indisputably as guiding forces for individual action as well as for the total direction of social life. As, for the individual, morality is the indispensable condition of true welfare, so ethical culture is the most important element of every kind of culture, the graduator of its health and its vitality. True progress in general culture is impossible without progress in ethical culture.

(2) The present state of humanity, even of the most civilized peoples, if measured by this ideal, is deplorably imperfect.

(3) The foundation and most important factor of ethical culture is the moral state of the individual.

(4) Religious conceptions, being a personal matter of the individual and of a great variety of forms, are unfit for the foundation of all-embracing ethical fellowship. Moreover, having lost their influence with many minds in all classes, they are untrustworthy to be the sole stay of morality.

(5) Hence a universally effective and absolutely valid foundation of morality is needed, such a one, namely, which is taken from the uniform ground of human nature and from the conditions of social life and which, consequently, can be verified by reason and experience.

(6) A first condition in moral life is a certain refinement and ennoblement of human nature. To develop these among all classes by

the diffusion of culture of the heart and of mind must be the first step in the striving for ethical culture.

(7) The promotion of ethical culture necessarily includes the striving for a state of society in which the gifts of life are justly distributed and in which each of its members is assured of the necessaries for human existence.

(8) As an indespensable foundation of moral development, a purposeful and, in its effects, lasting moral education of the young must be demanded. The first step in that direction is the introduction in the public schools of moral instruction on a non-theological basis.

With great decisiveness, however, even to-day, all private and public, national and international affairs must be held up to the measure of moral criticism and we must direct our efforts to the awakening in the widest circles of the moral sentiment and of moral judgment.

(9) As its next aim the Society pursues the representation, propagation and general maintenance of the above expressed convictions. It aims to offer to its adherents support and dependence, as well as to promote the cultivation of the inner life.

(10) The Ethical Movement, in view of the universal obligation of ethical norms, in principle, assumes an international character. To work successfully, however, in the special spheres of national culture, it is forced to attach itself to the national stamp of culture and to the particular forms of national and social life. In Germany, with strictest disavowal of national vanity, it knows itself in all its aims to be at one with the most noble traditions of German intellectual life.

The most striking and unique passage is undoubtedly the seventh paragraph which proclaims the principle that "the promotion of ethical culture necessarily includes the striving for a state of society in which the gifts of life are justly distributed, and in which each of its members is assured of the necessaries for human existence."

The unfavorable material condition of the working classes in Germany is so notorious a fact as to preclude the necessity of elaborating on it here. The most prolific source of industrial discontent is the low rate of wages and incidently the long hours. Although wages have increased considerably during the last few decades, the very causes which have enabled the working man to secure better remuneration for his labor have largely tended to nullify the advantages so gained. The drastic system of Protection in force has raised the price of many

of the necessities and comforts of life to such a degree as to render it questionable whether the increase of wages has produced a corresponding material improvement in general.

Now the manner in which the German working-man is endeavoring to work out his salvation is not, as in England, for instance, by industrial organization and warfare, but he is lavishing his energies and his means chiefly upon political organizations, who manage to keep him in a state of discontent with his condition without showing him concretely how to improve it.

Modern Social Democracy is an organization in point. While the older school of Ferdinand Lasalle strove to combine practical measures for the economic advancement of the working classes with political agitation and ideals, the modern school, of which there are as many sects as of Christianity, has become almost entirely abstract. The material welfare of the working classes is, to be sure, still the ultimate aim. But instead of aiming at gradual progress, "Marxism," as it is called, or Humanism, as Marx preferred to call it, has elected neither to ask nor to accept anything short of ultimate aims and deals with abstract doctrine applicable to men and not to nations. In a word, if one disregards the so called Importunists who endeavor to direct the social axe merely at the most obvious and obtrusive evils, modern Socialism has given the working man nothing but an ideal. While in an intensely practical age, this is undoubtedly something worth having, the Socialistic ideal, unfortunately, seems to be based not so much on reason as on emotionalism, not on reflection but on desire. Emotion, of course, one may object, is the source of social power; but if unrestrained or undirected, it is dangerous. This evinces itself clearly among those who stand lowest in the cultural scale. Continuously there are flocking to the socialistic camp crowds of men, of little education, whose heads are filled with the most crude and confused notions, and who, blindly following the impulses of emotion, jump at conclusions, support them with what reason they can, but reach them in any event. These are the men who frequently aspire to petty leadership. To ready and credulous followers they become the voluble prophets of a Utopia which is to come without any special exertion on their part, the graphic designers of all kinds of chimerical ideals excepting the one which above all is needed, an ideal of practical life.

To the higher strata of Social Democracy, of course, no right-

minded man will forbear the tribute of acknowledging the good which Socialistic agitation has done. But even here emotionalism seems to be the keynote for action and, consequently, renders even men of keen intellect unsafe guides. Individual egoism is here supplanted by party egoism, and blindly fanatic devotion to what is only a part, is frequently misconstrued into unselfish service to the social whole.

The demand for a just distribution of the comforts of life is one of the well known axioms of the Socialistic programme, and verbally, and perhaps intrinsically, this demand coincides with that incorporated in the statement of principles of the German Society for Ethical Culture. In the conception of how this ideal is to be attained, however, there naturally exists a vast difference. According to Socialistic theory, it is to be reached by the elimination of all class and caste rule. As a matter of fact, however, the prevailing idea seems to be that of combatting only the ruling classes in order to take their place. "Nieder mit dem Bürgertum und Hoch das Proletariat!" is the motto written on their flag.

In view of her growing political power, to imbue Social Democracy with the spirit of ethical culture became an urgent need. Hence the movement attempted to establish closer relations between the two. A pamphlet was issued by the movement in the form of an appeal to the Socialists, from which I shall quote freely.

"The ethical man," one reads there, "lives with humanity as a whole and feels every wound inflicted to the spirit of its universality. No temporary success of violence or of want of principle dazzles him. Not by hate and harshness does he strive for harmony but only through the spirit of fellowship does he seek to enter the realm of peace. Where is this ethical man, you ask? He is nowhere. But all look for him. Once, many centuries ago he appeared in a high form of purity. He was nailed to the cross. Shall we wait until again a Saviour comes who departs with the words: 'Father forgive them for they do not know what they do?' No! We do not wish to wait. Our martyrs shall not have suffered in vain. In us all there remains a spark of this ethical spirit, rigid and cold, but still full of vitality. We will redeem ourselves! Economical improvements can contribute thereto, in fact in many circumstances of life they are the indispensable preliminary condition. Lasting improvements, however, cannot be brought about without aiming at a higher general ethical standard;

not by deriding and imbittering individuals; not by resolutions of parliament; not by political innovations. Without a predominance of the ethical man, the best institutions will again degenerate and decay. Hunger is not stilled by Ethics, the Socialists exclaim! They err! Ethical culture will surely still it, for only by its help will end the present war of the classes. Ethical culture will accomplish it because it creates that new spirit which enables men to work and to manage affairs by joining hands instead of threatening with clenched fists."

In brief, it was argued that, while material elevation of the people, by involving the establishment of greater justice and equality, to a certain extent, already implies moral elevation, to fulfill the ideal of man means not individual satisfaction, but rather the realization of the universally human by means of general moral culture.

On the part of Social Democracy, all attempts of the Ethical Movement, "of the last cry of anguish of civil society," (das letzte Angstprodukt der bürgerlichen Gesellschaft) as it was called, to convert them to the higher ideal, has so far met with a rather cold reception.

Still, here was the movement conferring with a political party, even a remote connection with which sufficed to court the displeasure of the authorities. As a consequence, the so called "stillborn child" which usually was passed by with a sneer, began to be looked upon with suspicion. Its organ "Ethische Kultur" was regarded a publication which needed supervision. And thus, in addition to opposition from the church, hostility of the government and local oppression became powerful obstacles to progress. A glance at the cities where the divisions of the movement are located serves to confirm these facts. Nearly all are situated in the west and south of Germany, in parts which have felt the waves of the French revolution, and where government is more liberal.

Nevertheless, although circumstances as those mentioned above prevent the movement from making the most of its opportunities, there arises, on the other hand, the question whether, even under most favorable conditions, a movement of this kind would develop freely in Germany, since some of its characteristics are so distinctly negative.

It has been rightly pointed out (6) that much of the Rationalism which is met with in Germany in different degrees and forms and as a

characteristic common to all classes, is far from being identical with rank unbelief and that, to confuse the two things, as is often done, is both misleading and unjust. Probably the strongest predisposing cause of the sceptical tendency of the German mind is the great and almost exaggerated love of speculation and criticism, its eagerness of inquiry, its passion for interrogation. This truly Hellenic fondness for criticism and analysis operates in every direction of thought; and if religion seems to have been specially chosen to bear the dry light of reason, the explanation is simply that it offers infinitely more scope for criticism and speculation than any other subject of human investigation. As a proof for this hypercritical attitude towards religion, one may refer to the labels that German rationalists attach to themselves in the census returns, which require specific information as to a man's beliefs or disbeliefs. There one finds mention of "Rationalists, Materialists, Naturalists, Humanists, Atheists, Deists, Free Thinkers, Monotheists, Pure Reasoners, Pantheists, Secularists, Theosophists, Mystics, and Cogitants, not to speak of people who claim to have their own religion."

Numerous examples can be cited which show that, in spite of all possible scepticism, if one but look below the surface of things, the German people are at heart, a religious people and that many who profess to be free from ecclesiastical associations unconsciously pay homage to the religion they disdain. This is the case even amongst the working classes, where, owing probably to the unsympathetic attitude of the church and of the cultured classes toward labor, Rationalism is found in its crassest forms. While to the average German workingman his Socialism may be his true religion and while his theology, in so far as it is regarded at all, may be constructed from the teachings of a Strauss, Baur, Bruno or Renan, it would, nevertheless, be rash to conclude that, with the loss of regard for perhaps imperfect external forms of religion, the religious sentiment has become extinct. To sustain this point of view in connection with the present topic, it will suffice to point to the attitude of Social Democracy towards the famous neo-Christian Movement of von Egidy, who, although contending that Christianity is to be taken allegorically, yet insisted that it is a sacred myth, a vehicle by which truths may be brought home which would otherwise be unattainable. He recognized clearly and dared to give voice to his conviction, that what is commonly called by the com-

prehensive title of religious belief is only a part, and perhaps not the most central part, of the existing religious spirit and that, what has fallen, or rather what has become uncertain, are the historical and metaphysical dogmas which have been knit up with Christianity and not its central spirit, which may be described as love, devotion, reverence, conscientiousness. That his words roused an echo in the hearts of the German working men may be inferred from the fact that that at his death the "Socialist," an organ of the German anarchists, dedicated to his memory an entire edition, in which various representatives of the anarchistic movement expressed their sorrow and their thanks. The editorial thus apostrophizes the deceased:

"Du lichter Schatten habe Dank,
Gut sprach dein kühner Mund,
Und wem der Sinn von Zweifel krank,
Der ward an dir gesund!"

Other passages read as follows:

"Egidy's personality can in a sense be regarded as the ethical Centrum in the public life of the last few years. In his presence, the odious word was bound to remain unspoken, the offensive gesture was repressed and the ill-willed, by a mixture of nobility and amiability, for the time being, were disarmed. And herein rests the import of his work. In these troublesome times, where neighbor no longer trusts neighbor, he stepped amongst the people and with his pure hands again lifted up the most holy which in the struggle for trifles had ceased to shine forth. There glowed again with objective life what seemed to be dead letter: "The sacred law of evolution,"—"consciousness of personality,"—"consciousness of universal fellowship,"—"love is power,"—"learn to think with your heart,"—"we want to love not only this one and that one, we want to love universally" (überhaupt). . . He was one of the men, disseminating happiness, who can be praised but inadequately; for there is a way to please and to bestow, to smile and to inspire, to generate love and energy, which appears to be brightened by the light of a purer world, and inspires us to emulate such goodness.—And humanity moves on in ignorance of what it lost." (Quoted in (10) No. 5). Such words from such a source recall to mind Bacon's well known maxim that "a little philosophy inclineth man's mind to atheism, but depth in philosophy bringeth men's minds about to religion!" If nothing more,

they bear testimony to the presence in religion of elements which even freethinkers can accept and which, in fact, seem desirable. In view of the failure of the Ethical Movement to reach the masses, does not the high regard of Social Democracy for the Egidy movement point to the need of greater tolerance in the active and not merely passive sense? This need the Ethical Movement is slow to realize, although individual members appreciate it. Dr. Fr. W. Förster, for instance, writes as follows: "We cannot and do not wish to work to the end that communities for the satisfaction of religious needs change into societies for the satisfaction of ethical demands. For there are spheres in human nature which are not reached by ethics and science because they begin where ethics and science leave off, and which in many people emerge in the degree in which, by surrender and ethical emancipation, they have grown above themselves. Transitoriness and destiny, eternity and infinity glare upon us and cause to rise, out of the thrills of the soul, out of the depth of its love, its pain and its resignation, an ideal world of musing presentiment and pious trust,—analogies of the incomprehensible, hopes, joyful of their realization from the very ardor of their longing,—a realm of transfiguration in which there is an answer to the thousand questions in regard to the relation of nature to human existence. And there will always be people who will congregate in this sphere of kindred emotions and try to give expression to their devotion in the consecration of community, yes also such who, at important epochs of their life, demand to hear, side by side with the voice of earnest humanity, that sacred music which rings around the eternal secrets of existence. We have here nothing else to do than to hold the church to its most proper and purest mission" (10, No. 2).

France.

The French Movement for Ethical Culture was inaugurated by Paul Desjardins, Professor of Rhetoric at Paris, and well known as critic and moralist. He first attracted attention through a series of essays, later published in book form under the title "Le Devoir Présent," in which he appealed to congenial minds to join him in practical work. Like Adler, he looked for social regeneration through moral action pure and simple, by the individual leading of a better

life. "There are some of us" he writes (8), "who have sometimes forgotten their personal afflictions, however great they may have been, when reflecting on the moral distress all around us, and when searching for a possible way of remedying the universal misery. Some remain calm before the spectacle, they become reconciled, and learn to regard with sang-froid that which is. Others, among them the writer, are more affirmative, because they are more passionate, more easily offended, and because they can neither forget nor forbear nor give up peaceably to despair. They trouble themselves less with what is than with what should be. Are justice and love a blessing, trustworthy laws and a safe port, or are they phantasms and illusions? Have we a destiny, an ideal, a duty, or do we move about without cause and without aim, mere playthings of some malicious demiurge, or perhaps at the absurd caprice of the great Pan? These are the questions which divide conscience." Reflection as well as experience make it certain that humanity has a destiny and that we live for something. "I look," he continues, "wandering in a dark forest, towards the point where I fancy a light which cannot deceive me, but which is hidden behind importunate branches of the complexity of life. What brings me nearer to it is not speculating on the probable nature of the light, but marching towards it; that is to say, fortifying in all and in myself the will to the good." What he had in mind was a movement of individual and social emancipation, given birth to by a universal desire for a better state of society. To form a nucleus for this future society, "to be the fair beginning of a time," that was the avowed and rather huge ambition which led to the establishment of "l'Union pour l'Action morale."

On January 11th, 1892, he arranged for a meeting, where a number of like-minded men of all classes, including the clergy, discussed at length the popular questions of the day. As the circle grew larger, a Bulletin was printed in which the newly suggested ideas were given expression. In the following year the Bulletin was published as a periodical and its writers and subscribers constituted l'Union pour l'Action morale, which was not a society in the strict sense of the word. In its aim it did not differ from the general movement. Everybody, no matter what his religion or philosophy of life, was welcome to membership if willing to subordinate his personal interests to the common cause. "Let us co-operate," reads an appeal pub-

lished November, 1895, "to realize in some measure the good which we have recognized. Let us work among our neighbors, for we deem ourselves no better than those whose mistakes offend us. We are merely more conscious of the evil and more courageous to combat it. We have come to the conclusion that our first and most practical work must be that of moulding man." This can be accomplished best by an education which does justice to all classes. "Through it we work for social peace. For by making ourselves truer men, we render ourselves at the same time more susceptible to everything human,—we are enabled to comprehend more easily the sufferings of others. As opposed to the egoistic and individualistic interests of society, we wish to maintain that only such actions are of value as correspond to the demands of true justice. Only in this sense shall a public spirit be generated."

Although in naming the Union the words "action morale" had been substituted for "ethical culture," Desjardins thought it of advantage to confine the movement, at least for a certain time, to one of moral pressure (un movement d'opinion), in order to sound public sentiment and to determine the state of mental preparation for the successful launching of a movement of this kind. Hence, to begin with, its activities were limited to the discussion in the Bulletin of questions of public interest.

Like all true ethical reformers he conceived of the movement from an ideal point of view. Modern materialistic tendencies constituted to him a potential danger to all attempts at social regeneration. Emulating the ancient master who bids men to philosophize with their whole soul and not merely, by an artificial abstraction from other faculties, with their eyes and ears, he pointed out as a first duty the need of undoing in part the harm done by literature during the last century, the necessity of teaching that pure phenomenism invariably leads to faltering and to tautology, and on the other hand, that scepticism is nothing but the result of non-receptibility and a declaration of incompetence before life.

Although an anti-clerical, he seems to be inspired by an intensity of religious faith, which, to be sure, is not to be understood in the sense of dogmatic orthodoxy. To him moral ideas constitute the organic force of the soul. Maintaining with Pascal that "volition is one of the chief agencies of belief" he claims that only moral action is capable

of clearing up intellectual doubts, that faith is simply our consciousness of moral progress within, gradual like it, and its only reward. The fact that we are unable exactly to define this faith, far from dejecting us, on the contrary should be considered an element of strength, for "it would be immoral if faith could be formulated in so many words, in such a manner that knowing how to read would suffice for attaining it, and that through inability to read one would be deprived of it. Faith is incommunicable, and must be so, like moral worth from which it emanates."

Starting from these premises, his views regarding Christianity may be easily surmised. Religion, grasped in its true inwardness, being nothing but an attitude of mind projected into action, he counsels what he calls "the elaboration of an inner Christianity." By it he means an attitude of mind which would generate in the facts of inner experience the same spiritual phenomena which Christianity of old has recognized under the name of original sin, redemption, grace, the effects of prayer and of ascetism, etc., in brief, the restoration of a kind of interior Christ which any soul, if but possessed of a spark of nobility, would recognize as its own. The happy results to be expected from such a tendency, in his opinion, were to be twofold. In the case of Christians, it would lead to a rejuvenescence and a revival of their faith by letting them rediscover it under the brushwood of the dead letter, and thus render it more real. To non-believers, it would be, on the one hand, a great help in creating an inner understanding of their Christian brethren, and on the other, it would allow them to participate in the benefits which are to be derived from an admirable moral experience of more than 18 centuries' growth. At any rate, he hoped that the first step towards a fulfillment of his fondest dream, unanimity between these two factions, might thus be made. While the movement was to put the chief stress on the need of a new ideal of holy living taking root among the masses, Desjardins did not lose sight of the fact that to attain its aim, a purer, juster and happier humanity, it was also necessary to take an interest in practical measures of reform. To this end he advocated working in the spirit of liberal Democracy somewhat in the Aristotelian sense of the word, a Democracy in which fraternity does not necessarily imply equality, unless it be that of common duty of service, and in which the highest criterion

of liberty is the right and the duty of the individual to be at once law-giver and law-bound.

The one thing above all which he emphasized was the development of individual initiative as opposed to the prevailing tendency to automatize. Thus, the fact of absolute control of education by the State displeased him, although, of conrse, the newly instituted pedagogy met with his approval. Protectionism and Socialism in its various forms were distasteful to him. "Un seul vouloir partout" should be the aim, but not extinction of all initiative, that evil from which civil society suffers to the extent in which the liberated masses are thrown back into their former state of mental servitude. The intellectual tyranny of Paris was to be shaken off by the establishment of great university centres in the provinces, so that more men, having become their own masters, could venture upon the more dangerous but also more luminous heights of a free and complete life. Last, but not least, demands for greater freedom for societies which do not oppose the State, and new methods of bettering the conditions of the working classes by guarding against the fatal effects of the principle of charity, were to be included in the programme.

Such was the general tenor of the aims of the French movement at its birth.

Let us here pause to cast a glance upon the environment in which this movement was to develop.

France, unlike other countries which we have reviewed, is predominantly catholic, and it is not difficult to recognize that many of the characteristics and traits of its people are traceable to the inflnence which the catholic church has contributed to the moulding of modern France. If there is one thing more than another which marks the path of catholicism in history, it is its endeavor to destroy individualism by organization and systematization, and to enforce the sense of social interdependence among men. The principal means for attaining this was to assume absolute control of the domain of conscience. Conscience being the most important spring of human action, individuality is intensified in proportion as the individual takes charge of it, while individuality becomes less marked and his relations to others become more sensible in the degree in which he places the centre of his moral nature outside himself by resigning this charge into other hands. With the catholic church for centuries bearing sway in France,

one may, therefore, expect to find here the social instinct extraordinarily developed and, in consequence, the theory of the solidarity of mankind, the doctrine that there is between each individual and all the others a necessary tie of solidarity, to be in high favor. Obviously, then, a movement striving for a renewed society whose basis was to be "the spirit of sacrifice, the immolation of self and of one's passions and will, and the love of one's neighbor," ought to have found here a rich soil to cultivate.

As in other countries, however, so in France, other factors entered to counterbalance favorable conditions.

First in this connection is to be mentioned the fact that, with the possible exception of Germany, France is the land of scepticism par excellence. Not that the French as a nation could be called an irreligious people. Sweeping generalizations of this kind are out of place. But if it be true that the literary men of the times reflect the spirit and tone of thought of the upper and educated classes of a people, the literary history of France amply illustrates the fact. It is impossible to read French books, to study French history, without perceiving that in construction as in criticism, in science and art as in philosophy, the shining disk at which the Frenchman invariably aims is the fact, the reality, the truth.

Throughout the last few centuries one of the characteristics, one may say without fear of contradiction, the most obvious characteristic of French literature was its anti-Christian attitude. When D'Alembert, on his election to the French Academy, speaking on religion and philosophy, asserted that the birth of the Christian religion is the epoch of decadence of healthy philosophy, and that the annihilation of philosophy and the progress of religion have always gone together, he but voiced sentiments which met with applause and approval. Religion, according to his views, may serve to advance our happiness in the next world but not in this one.

The so called "System of Nature," influenced by the sensationalistic philosophy of the times, as is well known, went to even greater extremes.

The Encyclopædists treated religion from a purely rationalistic standpoint.

The annihilation of all religion during the period of the French revolution was but the logical consequence of the hostility to Christianity

in literature and its counterpart, the spirit of irreligion, which was prominent amongst the upper classes of French society.

Beginning as far back as the provisionary scepticism of Decartes and the sceptical satire of Montaign, proceeding to the natural scepticism of Voltaire, the sceptical naturalism of Rousseau and the positivism of Comte, one can trace the same tendencies of thought down to the lesser lights of the present age.

True enough, it may be objected that a certain amount of scepticism seems to be a necessary requirement for the life of the Movement for Ethical Culture as it has taken shape. But how such a tendency can cause a perversion of the true ideals of the movement may be seen in a remarkable statement of the meaning of the Ethical Movement as understood by the "Union de Paris," which reads as follows: "We are bound together by a common principle: to establish a discipline of life in conformity to reason and outside of all theology; to illuminate that discipline by free and open discussion; to animate it with love; to render it effective and progressive by mutual support; to teach it methodically; and to realize it in customs and in laws and even, if justice require it, *by a revolution*" (2).

Another obstacle is to be found in the peculiar ethical standards of the French which are fundamentally opposed to the idealistic ethical conceptions of the movement.

The key to their nature is to be looked for in the substitution of honor for duty as the criterion of morality. They are, on the one hand, the result of the sceptical attitude, and, on the other, a direct derivative of the highly developed social instinct. The religious man, exalting the functions of conscience, is ever ready to obey its behests unconcerned whether or not the oracle, by counselling contradictorily on various occasions, stultifies itself as a guide. He tactitly admits its fallability, acts according to the best light that is in him and trusts to a vague feeling that the rest will take care of itself. The sceptical Frenchman, with his passion for pure reason, scorns the pragmatic attitude. The one thing of consequence to him is to be counselled aright. Rejecting conscience as untrustworthy, he is led by his social instinct to place the more value upon an outward monitor. Morality becomes with him a social rather than an individual matter, The influence of his environment, public opinion in general, the νόμος, the custom which has the force of law, act as his moral constraints. Why

ponder over the obscure dictates of conscience when those of honor are so plain?

As a result of this extrinsic criterion the Frenchman is usually less successful in morality than elsewhere, his norms are apt to be more superficial, indeed, his whole discipline of character suffers from a certain streak of levity and his supreme wisdom is that of avoiding as much as possible the difficulties of life.

How this inadequacy of the social ground affects the success of the movement is well told by a French author who describes the following incident: "M. Desjardins and myself," he writes, "met in Edinburgh, where we both lectured—he on the moral action, I on social science. He then confided to me how struck he was with the extraordinary facilities he found in Great Britain for the furtherance of his ideas: "What excellent ground!" he once exclaimed. Indeed, he had met with an attentive, serious, earnest public; he had found among them that state of mind which is most favorable to receive and further moral action.

He was struck by the difference between this state of mind and that which he mostly meets in France. Even among his own followers, many merely yield to a sort of fashion, of vogue, of infatuation, which is just now felt among the French for moral action. It is select, well-worn, it is the last cry of fashion,—in short, it is an affectation. But let the wind of fashion change, and the people will turn to something else, as easily as a woman will change a tight-fitting skirt for a crinoline. As for the great mass of the public, they treat the whole movement as a huge joke—as indeed we do with everything in France."

"The seed cannot bear fruit in such shallow ground, where there is no deepness of earth" (7).

Although this picture possibly is somewhat overdrawn, the apparent indifference with which the Ethical Movement met in France seems to speak for its general accuracy.

However, there is still another reason for this apathy which the author, above quoted, has overlooked. While it is true that in France morality, like religion, yes even like science and art, is frequently not so much concerned with the satisfaction of deep human needs as with considerations of propriety and suitableness, it is even more governed by considerations of utility. In France, more than in other countries, the rights of man have been so loudly and so frequently

asserted that the duties of man are sometimes quite forgotten. Hence, as long as things go well, the French find it convenient to enjoy present advantages without troubling themselves about responsibilities. To move them there must arise conditions which affect particular interests rather than general ideals. Then, there is apt to occur one of those outbursts of passion in which this people periodically indulges.

Thus, it took such a stirring event as the notorious Dreyfus case to create heightened interest in the aims of the "Union pour l'action morale." The great crisis brought about by the revelations in connection with the trials of this victim of intrigue and persecution aroused French dreamers from their dolce farniente and not only set them to thinking, but prepared them for action. Its effects are most interestingly sketched by a friend of the Union as follows:

"We now see the state of our society: A cowardly public opinion, incapable of rising against the press which it reads; cowardly newspapers, constantly in fear of public opinion which they follow; a parliament which stands cowardly before these two cowards, public powers who stand cowardly before these three cowards,—and above the whole a soldiery which tries to erect its brutal power upon the ruins of all moral forces. . . . . All this we now see and know, all stirs to action, to reform—but how and where is one to begin? University men and artists fume at public meetings, resolve the repeal of wicked laws, all raise their hands in favor of the resolution,—so do I, through sympathy and imitation,—and yet do not really know which wicked laws are in question. There we are again in that state of precipitation so characteristic of our national temperament; we swear by schematic theories of force. . . . Here presents itself an opportunity. . . . for the Union to become a power in the public life of France. . . Do not be afraid to become political. We are aware how deeply politics is interwoven with the questions of justice. Yes, indeed, it is necessary to purify the motives of political work and to elevate its points of view. You are about, as you say, 'to establish a secular order who battles for individual and social duty, a nucleus of society of the future'; is this order to be merely contemplative? Why then do you invite people into a union pour *l'action* morale? If you care to act, my friends, advise us, organize us, lead us into action!" (10, No. 5.)

It is, of course, impossible to say how much the influence of the Union contributed to the apparently just settlement of this celebrated case which now has passed into history. Certain, however, it is that, notwithstanding the avowed neutral attitude of the Union, this affair, which divided all France into two factions, was the object of the most vigorous efforts on the part of the Union and consequently the cause of a wider propagation of its aims. Its membership increased more rapidly and particular efforts were made to reach the working classes.

Most noteworthy among these is an attempt in 1898 by M. Deherme, secretary of the Union, to bring the working classes into closer contact with the learned in order to secure a better understanding between them. For this purpose he published a monthly periodical "La Coopération des Idées," and places were established where the workingman met men of science and literature to listen to discourses, to review social and ethical literature and to interchange opinions on questions of immediate interest. The work resembled that of the University extensions in other countries but, instead of being confined to mere intellectual instruction, often went further by entering boldly into the midst of actual problems. The following partial list is typical of the themes on the programme;

"The history of the family." "The theory of free love." "The right of the child to monogamy." "Divorce." "Alcoholism and insanity." "Patriotism and internationalism." "Colonial politics." "The great strikes in England." "The history of the great French social philosophers and social movements," etc.

The undertaking met with such gratifying success that it gave rise to the wish for permanent institutions of this kind. This demand was realized by the establishment of so-called "people's universities," at first in Paris and later in the provinces, where, as an addition, after the fashion of the English settlements, facilities were provided for social entertainments.

For the rest, the practical work of the movement so closely resembles that in other countries that it would be tedious to again enumerate details. Nor would it be anything but repetition to again relate the apparently neutral attitude of the movement towards religion, the actual intolerance by a part of its members, and the vehement opposition to the movement by the church. The position of the movement towards Socialism likewise does not vary essentially from that described

in the chapter on Germany, although in the labor movement, here more than in Germany, where persecution from above opposes such a tendency, the one-sided economical conception of the social problem gradually seems to give way to a deeper appreciation of the rôle which the ethical ideal plays in historical development.

One topic, however, deserves some special attention, not only because of its intimate connection with the Movement for Ethical Culture, but because it treats of a problem in the solution of which France has been more eminently successful than other countries. I refer to the problem of "moral instruction in the public schools," that battle cry of the Ethical Movement which constitutes a *casus belli* wherever it is raised.

France is the classical land of the new pedagogy of morality. As early as 1866 there was founded the "Ligue Française de l'Enseignement laïque," whose aim was the development of secular instruction and education by means of the diffusion of enthusiasm for a natural and human ethics, the principles of solidarity and the consciousness of social duties.

In May, 1904, this league included no less than 3,305 subordinate societies and in addition 6,535 individual members. In 1881, under the direction of Ferdinand Bouisson, by an avalanche of petitions which contained more than a million signatures, the league prepared for the secular school, and since 1882 moral instruction is a part of the curriculum of the public schools. Over 200 text-books have made their appearance, some of which have reached 60 editions or more. Part of this literature, the work of psychologists and pedagogues of high standing, has unquestionably furnished many valuable contributions to the advancement of moral education of the young. Unfortunately, however, as Dr. W. Förster points out, just in France the whole pedagogical and culture value of the undertaking is greatly curtailed by its political and psychological origin. "The introduction of this moral instruction," he writes, "was not merely a pedagogical matter for the advancement of which the most divergent forces in the nation joined hands irrespectively of their political and denominational premises; on the contrary, it was a weapon of the newly founded republic which had its footing upon the rationalistic traditions of the French revolution, a weapon against that part of old-fashioned French society which still maintained its buoyancy within the circles of the

church and in the royalistic parties, and organized attacks against the new order of things. 'Moral—and civil instruction' was the real crowning of the non-denominational school, which was destined to train the republican citizen and to moor the new order of things in the conscience of the coming generation. This origination from impassioned and one-sided political tendencies the new French moral pedagogy has been unable to overcome; it lacks the breadth and depth of the fundamentals which, in this particular sphere, are quite indispensable—moreover, it is highly regrettable that such an important matter as the concrete form of a moral pedagogy was compromised from the beginning by being set up, in consequence of the above mentioned historical conditions, as an issue of the radicals against religious and church traditions, whereby for decades it was removed from the supplementary co-operation of the pedagogues of the church. It is likewise this development which has caused the new pedagogy to be built essentially upon the rationalism of the intellectualists and to lose thereby from the beginning, in its ethical foundations also, the co-operation of many deeper and richer minds."

From numerous and reliable personal communications, he continues, he is convinced that, to no little extent, the attachment of so many parents to the private schools of the church emanates from that too sterile and too one-sidedly intellectual foundation of the culture of the inner man which is in vogue in the school system of the State. "When one recollects that in these text-books the French revolution with its sanguifluous blessings occupies a nearly equivalent sacred position to that of the history of the Passion of Jesus Christ in Christian ethics, and when one further considers the naïve Chauvinism which, even to-day, is interwoven in a majority of these moral catechisms of the State, one must confess, with all respect for the honest and exalted intentions of the respective authors and pedagogues, that their conception of the matter is after all somewhat too simple. That must be told candidly—for the opponents of the new moral pedagogy, as it happens, are fond of referring to the palpable deficiencies of these French methods in order to prove the whole undertaking non-viable and unnecessary" (11).

While such criticism undoubtedly is just, according to other authoritative sources, ethical instruction in France, notwithstanding the hostility and malice of unscrupulous adversaries, and in spite of its

questionable parentage, has proved enough of a success to show the vitality of the principle. That in the relatively brief time during which it has been on trial it has not fulfilled all that which over-enthusiastic and optimistic partisans prophesied, was only to be expected. More perfect methods of instruction and more reliable text-books, which can only emanate from the combined efforts of psychological research and of practical pedagogy, are likely to remedy present defects. On the other hand, the argument advanced by opponents, who point to the increase of crime in France and assert that this is the result of the substitution of moral for religious instruction, will hardly stand the test. Its decrepitude is indicated by the fact that the same phenomenon obtains in other countries. Statistics, for instance, show that in Germany, where religious instruction is still included in the curriculum of the public schools, juvenile crime is on the increase to an alarming extent.

The end of the year 1905 saw an important change in the affairs of the movement in France. Up to that time, as one might expect, the policy of the movement was largely determined by the editors of the Bulletin, and as long as the effects produced by the novelty of the undertaking were in force, and during the eventful period of the so-called "grande affaire" the Union enjoyed a comparatively healthy state of prosperity. As time wore on, however, the group reacted less and less strongly, and finally was contented to simply accept what the editors of the Bulletin were able or pleased to offer. In other words, the Union was making rapid strides towards that much dreaded fate which is apt to overtake attempts of this kind, of shrivelling,—to make use of examples cited in the Bulletin,—into "une société pour la conservation de la pudeur, soladitas pudicitiæ servandæ," or perhaps into a "Société pour la réforme des mœurs," like the one which flourished in the Anglican church during the greater part of the 18th century. Then the leaders came to the conclusion that, in order to cut short the growing torpor, it was necessary to destroy the structure which they had helped to build. They came to see that the prevailing state of indifference was but the logical consequence of an arrangement by which one part of the members was exclusively the giver and the other the receiver, and which afforded opportunities neither for personal contact among the members nor for reaching the public at large. Again, they felt the title of the Union, which some,

from the very first, had hesitated to accept, to be a misnomer. "For a long time," so they argued, "the unique, common, and profound religion of the French people, or at least of that part of the French people for whom religion is possible, has been the search of truth and the desire to serve it." With Guyau, "who only interpreted what had been proclaimed 200 years before him by Malebranche, and 300 years earlier by Montaigne," they held, that "only that is religious in the philosophical meaning of the word, which seeks out, which ponders upon, which loves the truth." "Truth," speaking with Pascal, is then "the first rule and the final end of things." "Moreover," according to Baillet, the famous biographer of the life of Des-Cartes, "truth is indissolubly linked with justice; it would be impossible for justice to abandon truth without destroying itself" (3).

All these considerations led to the question, whether, after all, such a name as "Union pour la vérité" would not be more appropriate, indeed, whether the choice of this title would not be a peculiarly happy one, since it includes "justice" which, as accusers claimed, had been omitted. Accordingly, it was decided to abandon the publication of the Bulletin, and the Union was transformed into an organization which henceforth is to be called "Union pour la vérité." Other publications, among them "Petit Bulletin pour nos enfants" and "Libres Entretiens" are to be continued as heretofore.

The new Union, in its prospectus, calls itself "a society for mutual philosophical and civic education" and defines its object as follows:

"(a) To maintain among its members, by means of training judgment and character, that plasticity of mind which the search for truth and the struggle for justice demand."

"(b) To encourage openly, by personal example and propaganda, the active love of truth and right, and to help to introduce the critical method into everyday life."

Hereto was later added:

"To add nothing. Possibly, to explain something." "We establish this Union not for the purpose of searching for truth,—for one inquires into it by one's self,—but in order to serve it. We hope thereby to render ourselves capable of always willing the truth; for truth is not "a thing" which one can possess, but "a state" the attainment of which requires will power and ceaseless application. Herein a friendship such as ours aids us; a friendship between per-

sonalities distinctly different, but all resolved to place nothing higher than the truth."

The "Comité D'Administration" contains many names well known in science, in literature, and in the arts. The "Directeur" for 1906 is M. Paul Desjardins.

The latest discussions of the Union centre around the problem of Internationalism, in the elucidation of which many of the ablest French scholars are taking part.

The Movement in other Countries.

While the United States, England, Germany and France proved the most favorable territory, the influence of the Ethical Movement, possibly with the exception of Russia and Spain, has made itself felt in nearly every civilized country of the globe.

In *Italy*, Venice was the first city to establish a "Society for Ethical and Social Culture." (Circolo per la Cultura Etico-sociale.) Its immediate aim was "to unite all those who believed that the prevailing industrial system was capable of modification in the direction of more perfect harmony between the social classes." Discussion and public meetings were the instrumentalities for bringing about this result.

Although on the ground of classical culture, the movement, as recent events show, met here with almost insurmountable difficulties. On the one hand, the socialistic labor movement, under the long influence of brutal oppression, was far from ripe for a deeper conception of the social problem and, on the other, the clergy proved a most powerful obstacle, not only by its objection to a morality without religion, but by its successful opposition to all enlightenment of the people. Hence, genuine popular education, one which does not stand in the service of particular class interests, politics, or religious associations, became one of the chief objects of attention of the movement.

The Venetian Society was no sooner organized than it addressed itself to the task of philanthropy by proposing a scheme for the foundation of an asylum or shelter, a place for amusement and instruction of the children of working people during the hours when their parents are away in the workshops and factories. This attempt, however, was vehemently denounced by the clergy of Venice.

The Society then determined to address itself to the adult working people. A school for the social and ethical culture of working people was established, the members of the Ethical Society of Venice being the teachers. This attempt met with astonishing success. Opening with 7 adult pupils, after two weeks 200 were enrolled, and at the end of the month further admittance had to be refused owing to lack of accommodation. During the first year the number of regular students was 384, while with occasional visitors the total attendance was 4,180. A majority of these were workers in metals. The classes were continued from December to May, and in the summer, excursions were arranged for the purpose of studying the art and historic monuments in which Venice is so rich, and also economic conditions and public institutions, especially the public charitable institutions.

Within the course of a few years this people's school developed into a regular workingmen's college where courses of lectures in the various branches of science are delivered: Physiology, Physics, Hygiene, National Economy, History, etc. For literary propaganda the Society published a monthly journal "Cronache del Rinascimento Etico-Sociale," pamphlets, and leaflets.

Rome was the second city to organize an Ethical Society. In addition there existed in Turin, Milan, Bologna, Padua and Verona Peace Societies, Women's Clubs and Self-Culture Clubs which were akin to the Ethical Movement, for their constitutions prohibited any association with political or religious organizations.

The movement reached its most flourishing condition in 1899. In that year the Venice Society took the initiative in organizing a Society which was to include all the principal cities in Italy. The result of its efforts was the so-called "Union Morale; Associazione Italiana per la Cultura Etico-Sociale." The first new division was one at Padua, where a Count Francesco Papafava became an enthusiastic worker and, by means of a publication, "Cos'è l'Unione Morale", won many followers for the cause. Turin also established a division.

More recently, mainly lack of financial support has prevented the movement from working as intensively as it would like, in consequence of which it has shrunk to a considerable extent. The chief interest, at present, centres in the Popular University of Venice, at the head of which stands Professor Levi-Morenos. According to reports in 1905, attempts were being made to reorganize the Union. Later reports,

however, fail to state that reorganization has been successfully effected.

In *Austria*, it was Professor Jodl who, through two essays, published in August, 1893, in the "Neue Freie Presse," directed attention to the Ethical Movement. On December 10th, 1904, having obtained a permit from the authorities who "were unable to find cause for objection," the Ethical Society at Vienna was established. Dr. Aristides Brezina, director of the court-museum, was elected first "Obman." The history of this Society is a checkered one. Quite successful shortly after its organization, it later suspended operation for a time, was reorganized in 1897, attained at one time a membership of over 600, lost the greater part of these, and numbers at present something like 220 members. The Society first gained considerable recognition through an investigation, conducted in the city of Vienna, into conditions of female labor. The work was undertaken by the so-called "Social Group" which, employing nearly 400 experts, inquired into the condition of female workers in the various manufacturing establishments and into their manner of life. The results of this investigation were reported in the presence of a delegation from the public bureau of labor and later published in book form under the title "Die Arbeits—und Lebensverhältnisse der Wiener Lohnarbeiterinnen." (Ignac Brand, Wien, 1897, 686 p.) They found their way into the newspapers and, to quote from "the first report on the Ethical Movement," "stirred the social conscience and aroused the interest of wide circles of society." Encouraged by the success of this undertaking, and in the hope that a more thorough insight into the condition of the laboring classes might eventually lead to more favorable labor legislation, a similar investigation was made of the condition of apprentices in the various trades, with particular reference to industrial education, treatment, pay and mode of life. The working out of the rich material obtained was undertaken in his Seminary by Professor Dr. Eugen v. Philippovich.

In March, 1895, a so-called Literary Group came into existence, which for a time confined its activities to the study of the philanthropic institutions in Vienna. Later, after sending a committee to Berlin for the purpose of investigating the methods of the German Society, a "Bureau of Charities" was established after the model of the Berlin institution. The organ of the Society "Mitteilungen der Ethischen Gesellschaft in Wien" was also taken charge of by this group. A

third group, the so-called Pedagogical Group, arranged courses of pedagogical lectures for mothers and young women. Their object was thus indicated on the programme: "These lectures are intended to introduce the hearers into a deeper understanding of the child's soul as well as to increase their ability to carry on the education of the child on a sound ethical and psychological basis. A mother's love, to be sure, is the natural foundation of education, but experience teaches us that, in many cases, even the most devoted affection cannot accomplish what it aims to do because it is not supported by a clear insight into child nature and by a systematic application of the methods of educational science."

The first course included lectures like the following:

"The care of the child during the first year of life." "How does the child learn to think and to speak?" "The hygiene of the child." "Mother and children." "The culture of the æsthetic sense." "The importance of play." "Self instruction of instructors," etc.

This course, for which a class of 100 ladies enrolled, was so much appreciated that similar courses, with provision for a doubled attendance, were arranged for five consecutive years. At the same time, a series of conferences of parents with teachers was introduced which were attended by hundreds of parents.

Independently of the activities of the several groups, the Society engaged lecturers for its meetings, who came prepared to address the members. From four to ten of these lectures were delivered each year. The following, picked at random, were some of the topics: "Darwinism and Morality." "A few words by and on Dostojewsky." "Fundamental types of ethical scepticism." "Ethics in public life." "Demon Alcohol." "Philanthropy and social reform." "The race problem from an anthropological, sociological and ethical point of view." "Ethics and politics." "School and ethics," etc.

According to latest reports, after overcoming many difficulties, a branch Society has been established at Qualitsch with a charter membership of 40. The opening of branches at Graz, Linz, Troppau, and other places has been also discussed, and high hopes are entertained that in future the Austrian movement will not lag behind. "However, the difficulties put in the way by the public authorities are usually so great that a rapid spread of the movement is unlikely. Even the Vienna Society, like the German Society, is merely tolerated."

Switzerland is the only other European country with Ethical Societies which are affiliated with the Movement for Ethical Culture. "Die Schweizerische Gesellschaft für Ethische Kultur" was founded January 31st, 1896. It confined its operations, to begin with, to the lecture platform in order to spread its ideas. Later it interested itself in University Extension work which, through its agitation, was taken up by the Pestalozzi Society of Zurich. The discussion of "the tenement problem from an ethical and sanitary point of view" was a first effort in the direction of social reform. Sunday morning discourses, arranged for those estranged from the church, attracted an unexpectedly large attendance and won high praise from the local organ of the Swiss social-democratic party. As in Austria and Italy, this Society, after meeting for a few years with considerable success, failed to keep up interest in its aims. Although nominally still in existence, incidental causes have made necessary a suspension of activities. This occurrence is the more remarkable as Switzerland seemed to be the only country in which a majority of the clergy showed no prejudice against the movement and in which, on the contrary, some Protestant clergymen became its active members.

Moral instruction, in which, owing principally to the efforts and skill of Dr. Fr. W. Förster, a high degree of efficiency was attained, is the legacy which the Society has left behind. Dr. Förster is continuing his enterprises in moral instruction. In 1904 he was holding children's classes at Lucerne and training a teacher to continue his work. In a large volume, entitled "Jugendlehre" (11), he has published the results of his considerable experience. Another publication, entitled "Lebendskunde", a book for boys and girls (12), is, in the writer's modest opinion, one of the best text-books for moral instruction which have appeared in any language.

A second Swiss Society at Lausanne, the "Ligue pour l'Action morale, branche de la Suisse romande," has been more successful. It was established in March, 1899, mainly through the efforts of Professor Forel, who is still at its head. An "Aid society for dismissed insane persons," and a so-called "people's palace," are institutions which emanated from its labor.

The Society is exceedingly active in efforts for school reform. In 1902, Professor Millioud succeeded in introducing in the curriculum of the gymnasium at Lausanne a course of moral instruction which runs

through all the classes. In 1904 the league assisted in launching the so-called "Fédération des Sociétés Vaudois d'Éducation Populaire." Professor Forel is especially vigorous in his pleas for improvements in the system of education.

In *Japan*, the "Tokyo Ethical Society" was organized in 1898 by Mr. Tokiro Yokoi, who at one time had attended lecture courses by Dr. Adler, at Plymouth. Several of the faculty of the Imperial University are members of the Society. It aims "to promote ethical culture, to build up a strong and refined personality without regard to doctrinal distinction, religious belief, and moral thought." In addition to regular meetings, public lectures with discussions are given once a month. A monthly magazine is also being published. In *New Zealand* an Ethical Society has been started at Auckland. It is patterned in substance after those of the English Union of Ethical Societies. *Johannesburg* is another city in the British Colonies in which an Ethical Society is in existence. In *India*, an Ethical Society is reported to exist at Lahore. In Bombay, Bandra, and Lucknow so-called "Students' Brotherhoods" are in existence, whose aims appear to be identical with those of the Ethical Movement.

The International Union of Ethical Societies.

In 1893, the increasing activity in European centres gave rise to the idea that it might serve the purpose of enhancing the efficacy of the Ethical Movement, if the organizations which existed in the various countries could agree, in a more comprehensive union, on some mutual plan of procedure. This idea took tangible form in the project of an Ethical Federation which was to include all civilized lands. The initiative for its establishment was taken at a convention at Eisenach, in August, 1893, to which Germany, Austria, England and the United States sent delegates. The deliberations, however, took merely the form of preliminary discussions and nothing definite was decided upon.

In 1896 an international organization was finally effected, with a central station at Zurich, and Prof. F. W. Förster as secretary and organizer. Here, the so-called International Ethical Congress met on September 7th, 1896. It was preceded by a series of lecture courses on social science, which the Ethical Societies of Austria, Germany and Switzerland had arranged. Their purpose was, on the one hand, the

elaborating and disseminating of the ideas of the movement, and, on the other, the presenting by this means of a kind of object lesson of the problems which an "International Academy for Ethical Culture," the establishment of which was contemplated, must solve, if it would be a school of reform in the freest and most scientific sense of the word. The French Ministry of Education had deputed two eminent experts in its service, M. Buisson, Professor at Sorbonne, and M. Jost, Inspector General of public instruction. The following was the programme:

(1) Ethical Principles. Prof. Harald Höffding, Copenhagen.

(2) Contributions to Social Pedagogics. Prof. Staudinger, Worms.

(3) The University Extension Movement. Dr. Emil Reich, Vienna.

(4) On Education. M. von Egidy, Berlin.

(5) Natural Science and the Conduct of Life. Prof. Wilhelm Förster, Berlin.

(6) The Earliest Moral Instruction of Children. Dr. R. Penzig.

(7) On the Reform of the Methods of Higher Education. Dr. R. Saitschick, Zurich.

(8) The Fundamental Facts in the Life of Society. Prof. Ferdinand Tönnies, Kiel.

(9) Socialism and the Social Movement in the Nineteenth Century. Prof. Werner Sombart, Breslau.

(10) The Social Point of View in the Administration of the State and of the Community. Dr. J. Jastrow, Berlin.

(11) On Associations. Landrat Stefan Gschwind, Basselland.

(12) Social Evolution in Relation to Currency and Credit Systems, to Commerce, Trade, and Domestic Economy. Gustav Maier, Zurich.

"It may be asserted," writes Dr. F. W. Förster of these lecture courses, "without presumption or extravagance that we have never before had on the Continent such a collective treatment of the great questions affecting human society, such harmonious voicing of serious and liberal ideas concerning the conduct of life, concerning social politics, education, the labor movement, social organizations and popular enlightenment."

The Congress was opened by Prof. Adler, who, after the first busi-

ness, the reports of the delegates on the condition of the movement in their respective countries, on the following evening delivered an address on "Our Common Aims," which exercised great influence on the deliberations of the congress. In it he emphasized the fact that to him all merely external results achieved by the movement are of minor significance. To fix attention chiefly on the removal of the outward obstacles to human development can lead to no good purpose, since the inner reform must precede. Permanence and solidity and depth will be lacking, and the movement will not deserve to succeed, unless it creates in its midst a new spirit—unless a spirit of humility be cultivated among its own members.

The views expressed by him met with the readiest response and were embodied in the programme which the delegates adopted, to be made the corner stone of the Ethical Movement. Inasmuch as this programme presents the aims of the movement in a most comprehensive manner, it is given in full. Translated into English it reads as follows:

"The delegates of the first international Assembly of the Federated Societies recommend to the Federated Societies of the various countries represented, the following statement, subject to future expansion and revision:

"The prime aim of the Ethical Societies is to be of advantage to their own members. The better moral life is not a gift which we are merely to confer on others; it is rather a difficult prize which we are to try with unwearying and unceasing effort to secure for ourselves. The means which are to serve this end are: first, the close contact into which our associations bring us with others having the same purpose in view; second, the moral education and instruction of the young in ethical principles, which in their foundations are independent of all dogmatic presupposition; third, guidance for adults in the task of moral self education.

"Furthermore, the Ethical Societies should define their attitude toward the great social questions of the present day, in the solution of which the part to be played by the moral forces of society is of the highest significance.

"We recognize that the efforts of the masses of the people to obtain a more humane existence, imply a moral aim of the greatest importance, and we consider it our duty to second these efforts with all pos-

sible earnestness and to the full extent of our ability. We believe, however, that the evil to be remedied is not only the material need of the poor, but that an evil hardly less serious is to be found in the moral need which exists among the wealthy, who are often deeply imperilled in their moral integrity by the discords in which the defects of the present industrial system involve them.

"We regard resistance to wrong and oppression as a sacred duty, and believe that under existing circumstances conflict is still indispensable as a means of clarifying men's ideas of right and of obtaining better conditions. We demand, however, that the conflict be carried on within the limits prescribed by morality, in the interest of society as a whole and with a constant eye to the final establishment of social peace as the supreme consummation.

"We expect of the organs of the Ethical Federation that they will endeavor to provide, in so far as they are able, intellectual armor to serve in the social struggle—by this we mean the publication of careful scientific treatises, which shall have for their object to ascertain whether the positions of individualism and socialism are not susceptible of being united in a deeper philosophy of life; further, statistical investigations, to show with the impressiveness of facts, how profoundly our present conditions are in need of reform, and furthermore to see to it that the results thus obtained shall be spread far and wide so that the public conscience may be developed in the direction of a higher social justice.

"We leave it to the several Societies, according to the particular circumstances of the countries to which they belong, to carry out the above general purpose in particular ways; but we especially call upon all the members of the various Societies, in their individual capacity, to promote the progressive social movement of the times by simplicity in the conduct of life and by the display of an active public spirit.

"We recognize the institution of pure monogamic marriage as a priceless possession for mankind, indispensable for the moral development of the individual and for the permanent existence of civilization; but we demand that the monogamic idea shall express itself in the sentiments and practice of men with a degree of consistency which to a very great extent is still wanting.

"We demand for woman opportunity for the fullest development of her mental and moral personality, and realizing that her personality is

of equal worth with that of man, we pledge ourselves, as far as we are able, to secure the recognition of this equality in every department of life.

"We regard especially the lot of female wage earners in industrial establishments and in personal service as one of the most grievous evils of the present time, and we will use such influence as we possess to restore all classes of the population the conditions upon which a true home life depends.

"We regard it as a fundamental task of modern civilization to give back to the educational system the unity which it has in a large measure lost, and to replace the missing keystone once supplied by dogmatic teaching in schools and universities by setting up a common ethical purpose as the aim of all culture.

"We heartily appreciate the efforts now being made to bring about universal peace among the nations, and we would contribute our share towards the success of these efforts by inwardly overcoming the military spirit, by endeavoring to counteract the attraction that military glory exerts upon the minds of the young, and by seeking to provide that the ethically valuable elements which the military system contains may find expression in nobler and worthier forms.

"Furthermore, we would oppose that national egotism and national passion, which at the present day are just as dangerous foes of peace as are the prejudices and interests of the governing classes; and in times of excitement and of political hatred we will exert ourselves in conjunction with others who think as we do, to compel attention to the voice of reason and conscience.

"We ask our Ethical Societies not only to direct their attention toward the outward extension of the movement, but to devote their utmost energy to the building up of a new ideal of life, which shall correspond to the demands of enlightened thinking, feeling and living, confident that such an ideal for which mankind is thirsting will in the end be of equal profit to all classes and to all nations."

The International Union published a "Report" which appeared two or three times each year and was at first circulated in German, French and English, but latterly in German only, the intervals of publishing also becoming wider. Such a method of publication was necessarily expensive, and to that, it is said, was due the tendency to finally discontinue the "Report" altogether.

During 1905 and 1906 the International Union, which is now composed of England, Germany, France, Austria, Italy, Switzerland, and the United States, contemplated the holding of a second International Ethical Congress which was, again, to emphasize the basis of their common enthusiasm and to strengthen the existing bonds between the various Ethical Societies. It was agreed that the Congress should be held in London, and the date was fixed for September, 1906. In a personal letter, however, from the present international Secretary, Mr. Gustav Spiller, of London, the writer received information that "the Congress announced for this year will probably not take place."

Instead, according to Ethical Addresses, December, 1906, there was held at Eisenach, in July, 1906, an international conference of ethical leaders, who framed a new constitution, of which the following articles are of interest:

Article 1. Section 1. The name of this organization shall be "The International Union of Ethical Societies."

Article 3. Section 1. The general aim of the Union is: To assert the supreme importance of the ethical factor in all the relations of life—personal, social, national and international, apart from all theological and metaphysical considerations.

Section 2. The special aims are: (a) To bring the organizations of the Union into closer fellowship of thought and action. (b) To promote and to assist in the establishment of Ethical organizations in all countries, and to promote the incorporation of non-affiliated Ethical organizations into the Union. (c) To organize propaganda and to arrange ethical lecturing tours. (d) To publish and spread suitable literature. (e) To promote ethical education in general and systematic moral instruction in particular, apart from theological and metaphysical presuppositions. (f) To promote common action, by means of Special Congresses and otherwise, upon international issues calling for ethical clarification. (g) To maintain an international Ethical Library. (h) And to further other objects which are in harmony with the general aim of the Union.

Conclusions.

In the foregoing necessarily brief but, it is hoped, fairly comprehensive presentation of the history, aims and present status of the

Movement for Ethical Culture, chiefly local aspects were considered. There still remains the task of discussing the movement from a somewhat larger point of view.

Surveying its history from this vantage ground, and judging by past achievements, one can, it would appear, but come to the conclusion, that the outlook for future success seems, at best, problematical.

In order to furnish a basis for this conclusion, let us briefly analyze the elements which enter into the making of an Ethical Society and consider the factors which oppose the realization of its ideals.

Looking at the surface of things, the impartial critic will admit that there is a field for Ethical Societies, since the most notable characteristic of the last century has been such an increasing alienation—if not from Christian religion, from the Christian church—as to recall to the minds of many the judgment of Schopenhauer, that the church in its attitude towards the world is absolutely remote from the spirit of the modern age.

Although the prodigious influence of the life and personality of Christ is recognized by all, and his teaching is regarded as the expression of our highest ethical conceptions, there are those who criticise the church because, by calling into play the supernatural machinery of theology, it often shows a tendency to so exaggerate the notion of law as to conceive of life as mere obedience to a code of rules or precepts, which can but lead to a purely mechanical view of morality. This criticism of the church, although remaining unexpressed, is sometimes sustained by its own members. Dr. G. Stanley Hall, in an attempt to collect individual types of religious consciousness in order to determine "what men actually do believe," finds from his answers to a questionnaire, "that for a great many actively religious people the supernatural fills a very small part of the mind, and that their idea of religion is duty, following the teaching of Christ" (13a).

Hence it may happen that those whose reflection has led to the conviction that the highest stages of soul life are reached when man surrenders to that great governing principle which makes for righteousness, and who, therefore, are desirous of sweeping aside certain views which tend to keep the springs of religious faith compressed, cultivate a religious demand to which no satisfactory reply comes from the church.

Again, there is to be found a widely prevailing want of satisfaction

with scientific as well as with theological teaching. The objections to the former generally are that it is predisposed to the development of an orthodoxy of its own; that it includes a tendency so to overestimate the achievements of science as to believe "that all the fundamental conceptions of truth have already been found by Science, and that the future has only the details of the picture to fill in" (15).

It is said, by too obstinate adherence to principle, to be apt to breed a prejudice, to be likely to create a dangerous form of egotism which regards nothing as good except what one favors, and to prevent the making of a higher synthesis. But here again it may occur that deeper reflection opposes the, perhaps premature, judgments which superficial knowledge or prejudice has formed, and that the scientific thinker, impressed with the idea that natural science corroborates the necessity of treating religion as one part of a comprehensive view of the universe, yearns for some kind of a spiritual superstructure.

It must be obvious then, at least to those who concede that the psychological or subjective elements of religion and morality are the same or closely related, that to certain classes of men a Society for Ethical Culture will prove an attraction, that is to say, however, an ideal Ethical Society, an association of men and women who, willing to forget their religious and philosophical differences, are desirous of showing reverence to the ethical ideal.

Unfortunately, however, this ideal condition is not easily realized, for one meets, in those estranged from the church, with two distinct types. First, what may be called the contemplative type, consisting of such who, although rejecting theological dogma, inquire more deeply into the problems which engage human thought and discover that, like everything human, the mind of man is marred by human limitations. With Lessing, who wrote (17): "If God held absolute truth enclosed in his right, and in his left an ever active longing for truth, and bid me: choose! Even though it involve the certainty of eternal error, I should in all humility point to his left and say: Father, give! for plain truth, after all, is but for Thee alone," with Lessing they would without hesitation choose the left. Not that they wish to imply that the search after truth is to be preferred to its possession, for they are well aware that Lessing's famous saying luxuriated in the spirit of a doubting age. Nor that they underestimate the power of intellect in its rightful sphere. But because they fully

recognize the difficulty of attaining final truth, and, therefore, humbly stand ready to confess that, notwithstanding all intellectual achievements, we are but children playing on the beach, picking up here and there a bright pebble from the shore of knowledge, while a boundless ocean of the unknown stretches out beyond.

Not so the second, or aggressive type. They apparently have made it their task at all hazards to rescue religion from metaphysics in order to place it on the more tangible basis of moral experience. Overlooking the fact that no man holding strong beliefs on one side of a question can investigate it with such fairness and completeness as if he were really in doubt and unbiased, they persist in attacking problems which many deem far too sublime and exalted for that sort of inquiry. Encompassed in the false psychology of an extreme intellectualism, they do not perceive the absurdity of antagonizing supernaturalism by adopting its own standpoint. The thought that possibly it is the function of religion merely to bring ideals into the realm of reality, is one which occurs to them no more than to the supernaturalists, nor that, consequently, it would be unjust to require of a religion anything more than an allegorical reflection of the truth. Instead of being in the van, then, as it fondly believes, extreme rationalism has been outflanked by modern Christianity, which has recognized the error of both, rationalists and supernaturalists, namely, of seeking in religion dry, literal truth.

These two types, as has been pointed out, are more or less represented in Ethical Societies, and one can easily see how the predominance of the one or the other might have a bearing on a society's work or on its standing in the community. Couple herewith the notorious indifference met with by the reformer in the masses, who are wont to follow the path of least resistance wherever that leads, and the fact that, in the past, all efforts to attract the poor and the untaught to a religion without mysticism have never been conspicuously successful, and we have here undoubtedly some of the factors which tend to impede a more rapid spread of the movement.

Turning to the aims of the movement, one cannot help, above all, being struck with the appalling complexity of the problem which confronts it. Regeneration of the individual and of society as a whole! What a confused picture these words call up before the mental eye, when one begins to speculate on the ways and means of realizing this

aim. Moral, religious, social and economic difficulties so closely interwoven, interpenetrating and overlapping each other in such a manner, as to make one doubt the possibility of finding a remedy for one unless its application can be extended to cover the group as a whole.

In this dilemma the movement resorts to, what has ever been the harbor of refuge in periods of social, religious and political unrest, the reconstruction of ideals, tottering amid the turbulent conditions of the times, upon the more solid foundations of morality. Holding that the problem is not so much a social and political, as rather a moral and religious one, like primitive Christianity, it offers regeneration through a change of the heart and will on the part of the individual, implying thereby that, whatever social advancement is attainable, must be established upon the basis of individual morality. There are, however, certain provisions which the movement stipulates. Ethics must be independent of the truth of religious beliefs and philosophical theories and should be placed upon a strictly anthropological and psychological foundation. With these conditions fulfilled, recognizing the fact that normal and healthy progress is by an evolution of the better out of the good and that, in the moral as well as in every field, thet rue function of development consists in promoting some phase of this evolution, the movement conceives as its task that of aiding to create a better environment, of getting sight of higher ideals and of encouraging others to emulate the adoption of the unselfish life of the spirit.

The plan is very succinct and clear indeed, but, to use Dr. Förster's words in criticising the French moral pedagogy, with all respect for the honest and exalted intentions of the movement, one must confess that its conception of the matter is perhaps, after all, somewhat too simple. The chief difficulty obviously presents itself in the mooted question:

Is morality without religion at all possible?

It is generally discussed from a theoretical point of view, and by employing scientific methods of investigation an affirmative answer may be arrived at. The answer will depend on:

(1) the definition of the term "religion," which may be made as broad as possible, to cover every possible form of belief, even that differential element which is supposed to characterize the true religion of the future, or to include merely the concrete beliefs and practices of religions of the past and of the present time;

(2) the avoidance of confusion between the terms religion and theology; the latter being a theory about the world and its causes as objects of religion, while religion is simply an attitude of mind toward them, involving emotional elements; and

(3) the conception of morality, which may comprehend either the subjective or the objective aspects of it or both.

From a certain point of view, then, one would be even justified in asserting that the ideal character of the divine is a reflection of a previously developed moral consciousness.

The theoretical aspects of the question, however, are of but minor importance as compared with its practical significance. With religion removed as the sustaining sanction of morality, what leverage can one command to lead men to the pursuit of the moral goal?

"Savonarola," writes Dr. Adler, "in one of those powerful sermons of his, the echoes of which have reverberated through the centuries, puts the question why it is that men choose the life of pleasure and worldly advantage rather than the good life, which on its own account is so much to be preferred; and he answers by saying that 'their eyes are blinded by the mists of the world, so that they cannot see the good life in all its beauty.' Could they do so, it would exercise upon them an irresistible attraction. In this statement is indicated the method of propaganda which every moral movement must use. The thing to do is for the teachers, the leaders . . . to be aglow with moral passion, and to kindle in others the same fire. . . . All the great moral movements of the world have radiated from great personalities" (1).

The answer to this proposition is: Where shall we look for such men, powerful enough to inculcate in others a love for moral action, when the life and example of a Christ fails to impress them? Certain privileged epochs, as is well known, have produced pleiads of saints, that is to say, of men who are rightly considered to have attained the highest moral development. That source of moral action has flowed abundantly during the first centuries of Christianity, when the very blood of thousands of martyrs flowed freely. "Never was there a more magnificent efflorescence of saints, never, perhaps, did man rise higher, from a moral point of view, or in the matter of self-sacrifice. And yet, never was society more debased" (7).

History teems with stories of good and spiritual men who raised

their voices in protestation against numberless evils and preached with their examples, and yet how little they swayed the minds of the multitudes, for the world still lieth in wickedness.

Again, the movement refers to the sense of duty, in the Kantian sense of the word, the respect for the moral law, a rational fact of such universality that it cannot possibly be misunderstood. "Ethics, in so far as founded on the Idea of Humanity . . . is by itself complete and entire; so that mankind neither requires the idea of any Superior Person to enable him to investigate his duty, nor does he need any incentive or spring to its execution other than the law itself" (16). Hence, the movement's appeal is directly to the conscience.

But what is conscience? For the one who postulates a moral government of the Universe, an Ego back of the physical organization of man, a doctrine of moral adjustment in a future state, in brief, for the religious man it may prove an adequate moral guide and criterion of conduct. To the one, however, who rejects all these postulates, it is apt to mean nothing more than any other state of consciousness. It simply represents the mind occupied with moral phenomena, whereby the mental faculties develop and group themselves in some particular and original way, and the psychic phenomena associate themselves in some peculiar manner. On this hypothesis, a man's moral judgments will depend on the accidental organization of his nervous system, heredity, temperament, education, physical and social environment—in a word, on the degree of his intellectual and physical development. While conscience may clearly develop a moral ideal, the moral value and inherent motive power of the latter will depend on an individual's standing in the intellectual and cultural scale.

From the higher standpoint, every capacity or opportunity implies a duty, but in the case of an *ignorant or unreflecting* person, conduct is likely to be settled through the constraint of law or perhaps of conformity to nature, and through the degree of satisfaction of desires derived from obedience to these. There is little in his mental make-up to suggest to him that he should live any other than a conventional life, hence, his conduct being moulded by the circumstances which surround him, the development of a capacity to him is apt to be a question mainly of its conduciveness to material welfare.

It is one thing, then, to say that *cultured* men, who have reached the reflective stage of self-consciousness, will find in the realm of

ideas sufficient motives for action, and another thing to maintain that *all* men can be safely left to do so.

More convincing proof for this assertion may be found by pushing on to somewhat deeper strata of the soul.

If we analyze the religious conscience, we find it characterized by the presence and predominance of the religious sentiment of mingled love and fear towards the Deity, which rests in the emotional element of the human soul.

From the Kantian standpoint, also, conscience is purely an emotional function which includes in it neither intellectual nor moral judgment. Morality, from his point of view, influenced probably by the desire to restore beliefs which had been destroyed by his criticism, aims at the regeneration of the will, hence, action in accordance with the "categorical imperative," which commands unconditional obligation and involves *respect or reverence* for the moral law, is the only requirement. This requirement the *ignorant* as well as the learned and cultured are able to fulfill.

In the case of mental types we are discussing, on the other hand, conscience is not a unique, simple power, but assumes the character of a complex organism in whose nature there is nothing different from other mental activities as such, save their direction. It assumes a cognitive, judicial and legislative function, and accordingly, the degree of its authority will depend on the development and co-ordination of its elements. If the appeal be to the cognitive element alone, conscience will give the knowledge of virtue, but not its power. It will prescribe duties, but it will not kindle the feelings which are the impulse to duty. Thus one could perceive more or less clearly, and acknowledge a moral ideal, and yet feel no compulsion to live up to it. Morality sanctioned by conscience appealing to reason only, can at best be but a formal one. It is, what may be called, moral theology, and inadequate, because it is an abstraction. To induce moral action, *in cultured* and uncultured alike, the appeal must be to man as a psychological entity, and include feeling, that emotional element which comprehends the sense of obligation and the feeling of constraint.

But when we proceed to take into account feeling as a factor in morality, then, of course, we have arrived at the borderground of religion,—inarticulate, if you please,—but still religion.

And this brings us to the point which has been aimed at.

Dr. Martineau (18), discussing the influence of declining religious belief on morality, writes as follows: "We pay, I am disposed to think, too great a compliment to the Greek mythology when we attribute the ethical decay of later Athens and Corinth to the growing scepticism about its gods. The public life was dead. The theatre of great passion and great action was closed. The calls for sacrifice, the opportunities for national expansion, were gone, and the political school for the discipline of character was no longer there. With the loss of a progressive history, the springs of heroic emulation suffered atrophy, a sickly hue passed over literature, philosophy, and art; and the subsidence of human loves and cares upon low Epicurean levels was inevitable though the Olympian deities had never been dethroned." This is well said. But did not the writer overlook the fact that this lack of emotional incentive, so graphically described by him, dwarfed and atrophied that psychic element in man which is both the seat of the religious sentiment as well as the main spring of moral action? Religion and morality in the concrete, may not affect each other directly, but they are apt to do so by force of their psychological relationship. The source of the one being, at the same time, an important function of the other, they may be expected to act and react on one another by their reciprocal play upon this common element. Being thus intimately connected, it follows that any attempt of basing existence on morality alone and of disregarding religion altogether, by dulling those deepest of our emotions, sympathy, love, and veneration, which are the most powerful motives of human nature, to a certain extent, involves the defeat of its own aim.

Granting then that, to a certain extent, morality without religion is possible, that the principles of duty would remain, that judgments between right and wrong would, in the main, be unaffected; so that the moral code emerging from these premises would not materially differ from that which is recognized by all great religions; granting all this, one may still question whether disestablishment of religion and ethics is *desirable*. But few, it would seem, will venture to give an affirmative answer, even though now we substitute religion in the concrete for the general term.

The difference grows out of the addition of practical to sentimental considerations.

It has already been pointed out that the objections of a majority of

those who hold themselves aloof from the church do not, in the main, arise from the fact that religion as such does not appeal to them. This is manifested by the manner and direction in which the Movement for Ethical Culture in the United States, and partly also in England, has developed. Here the construction of a morality without religion has not been consistently carried out, for it is obvious that motives were introduced which may be said to have been in reality of religious origin. In fact, it would seem that, at this time, many in the movement stand closer to religion in its essence than they appear to, or are willing to admit, and that, indeed, they have builded better than they knew. What they really object to is the dogmatic and ecclesiastical form of religion, emanating from attempts of the church to prescribe its external character and to guide external action directly.

That this external form, created by the rulers of the church, and dependent on their state of culture and the selfishness or unselfishness of their motives, should be imperfect and open to criticism, seems inevitable.

At the same time, even the casual observer of the development of Christianity, in fact, of nearly all higher forms of religion, cannot fail to perceive, as the horizon of human knowledge is gradually widened, a steady tendency to modify the traditions of the past which are identified too closely with the interests of the church as organization, and to restore the higher position, namely, that moral regeneration is internal. May one then not consider whether it is not possible so to distinguish between a polemic against ecclesiastical intervention and attacks on religion as such, as to be able to repudiate the formal and external and retain that which is vital and essential?

The difficulty, as a German writer adroitly points out (19), arises from the fact "that religion is under the care of the very organization whose influence is so objectionable. The result is that an attack on the Church is almost invariably harmful to the religious life of the community, and so indirectly injurious to morality. This danger can be avoided only if those members of the Church who make a clear distinction between the essence of religion and ecclesiastical dogmatism strive perpetually to bring about such a reformation in the Church that the former will become more and more prominent, and the latter come to be recognized as merely the symbol and vehicle of religious and ethical conceptions. The Church, as the organization of the religion of the

community, is so powerful that it cannot be affected by any attacks and attempts at rivalry that proceed from non-religious sources. . . . If one would enter the field with some hope of success against churchly dogmatism and ecclesiastical supremacy, one must enlist the aid of religion itself, and employ against the narrow and obscure conceptions of the Church dogmas, the ideal of a morally pure and undefiled religion. This can only be done from within."

Here a solution of the problem is suggested which certainly seems feasible, even though it is probably too much to expect that these changes, like all changes which are desirable, will come about except by the slow process of historical development. Men advanced in years, having long-standing preconceived opinions and convictions, do not easily overcome their prejudices. This is undoubtedly true of all, inside and out of the church alike.

It is mainly this fact which opens for Ethical Societies a fertile field of activity but, at the same time, indicates their method of approach. Standing for the elevation of the inner life of mankind, the spinning out of those finer textures of character which in this material, rationalistic age are apt to be left to themselves, and for the advance from a negative to a positive era, they cannot hope to realize this aim by underestimating the value of one of the most subtile factors in human action, the religious sentiment. Being in earnest, as they undoubtedly are, in demanding a truly ideal morality, they must generate and foster in those within their sphere of influence habits of preperception which anticipate future exigencies of life. For the ideals of a truly ethical community do not cluster around the narrow limits of the present, nor are they reflected in the concave mirror of the past, but they are, in the words of President Hall, "representative of that great cloud of humanity which in the long perspective of future generations will throng the earth, and compared to which the 1,500,000,000 people of to-day are but a handful" (13 b.).

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NOTE ON GENESIS III.

Cheyne's Traditions and Beliefs of Ancient Israel.

A. E. Whatham.

In the August, 1905, number of the *American Journal of Religious Psychology* under, "The Outward Form of the Original Sin," I attempted to explain the character of the narrative in Genesis III, from an anthropological standpoint. Accepting the mythical framework upon which the present narrative had been woven, I endeavored to show that folklore and figure made up a detail whose result was "a veiled description of the first human physical union and its consequences." Dr. Cheyne in his recent work, indicated at the heading of this article, has done me the honor of referring to my view of Genesis III, without, however, accepting my explanation of it. Indeed this he rejects on the ground that "The framework of the story being mythical, it is unnatural to spoil the myth by treating its detail as symbolic or euphemistic" (p. 81). Unfortunately what he objects to in my case he has resorted to in his own, since he tells us that "the phrase 'eating dust' could be used also of men as well as of serpents; it is a figure for the deepest humiliation" (p. 82).

But if the narrative contains one symbolical figure, why may it not contain more? Indeed, by the admission that it contains one room is provided for assuming that it does. Thus singularly Dr. Cheyne has himself destroyed the objection he advanced for rejecting my explanation of Genesis III.

When we come to examine Dr. Cheyne's own explanation of the narrative we find it, so it appears to me, singularly unsatisfactory. To begin with, he rejects the representation of the existence of two trees, of life and knowledge respectively, claiming that in the original story there was but one tree which possessed the power of bestowing both gifts (p. 76). Now this may be true, yet to reject one of the trees in the narrative as it stands is to destroy the entire story in its present setting. By the immediate eating of the tree of knowledge the gift indicated is bestowed fully and completely (Driver-Genesis, p. 46). In like manner it is inferred that the eating of the tree of life would at once have conferred immortality. With the acceptance of the story with but one tree possessing the double gift of life and knowledge, continued eating would have been necessary for the increase of knowledge and the continuance of life, which is contrary to both the spirit and statement of the narrative.

Again, Dr. Cheyne, as I have intimated, rejects the view that the narrative gives a veiled representation of the first human physical union and its consequences (p. 80), but concedes that the fruit eaten conveyed the knowledge of the godlike power possessed by the first human pair of reproducing themselves (p. 76). In other words, the consciousness or "the difference of the sexes" (p. 80), with the capacity for "sexual relation" (p. 76).

Now mark, Dr. Cheyne represents all this as the knowledge which the magic fruit conveyed (p. 76), *i. e.* with the eating, a knowledge which made them immediately "sensible that they were naked" (p. 80), whereupon, feeling ashamed, "they

sewed fig-leaves together and made themselves aprons (girdles)" (*ib.*). But if the knowledge to be obtained was merely the consciousness of the godlike power of reproduction, this had already been revealed to them by the serpent in his statement, "ye shall be as gods," a statement which, signifying reproduction, necessarily included what must have been a conscious reference to the difference of sex between the human pair. But no shame was as yet felt by the man and the woman of a nakedness of which the serpent's statement had made them sensible. It was not until after the fruit had been eaten that shame at this exposure was felt. How true is all this to human experience. Shame is not felt until knowledge has been put into execution. The eating, therefore, must have included something beyond the mere knowledge of nakedness. It included the "exercise of a virile manhood," to use the words of Professor Barton (Semitic Origins, p. 94). Nor are we left in doubt as to what this scholar means, since he immediately intimates that the fruit of the tree as eaten represented the act of sexual union to which end the narrative represents the serpent as urging the man and the woman. It was then at the consummation of this union that their eyes were opened, not to their nakedness, for of this they had been aware before they had eaten of the tree, but to the shame arising from the use they had now made of their previous conscious nakedness.

Thus with Trumbull and Crawley, to whom Dr. Cheyne might have added, Peters and Barton, I am in good company in explaining Genesis III, as depicting in a veiled manner the first human physical union and its consequences and, if I am not mistaken, this explanation is the only one which can harmonize the details with the general drift of the narrative.

But to continue, Dr. Cheyne in opposition to my view of the two trees as "symbolic of conditions or states," claims that his one tree is a real tree, and that although the last editor misunderstood the capacities of this tree, its fruit, "according to him, was a real fruit; probably he thought of the duda'im of Gen. XXX, 14, which, as we know, were thought to have aphrodisiac qualities" (p. 81). But this is impossible, seeing that the mandrake is of the family of the potato, a small low plant, one which could never have been spoken of as a tree. But this after all is only what Dr. Cheyne assumes the last editor may have thought, since elsewhere he asks, "Can we get behind the narrative and identify the tree of life," and he then assumes that it was the date-palm (pp. 77, 102). I am inclined, however, with the Greeks, and some of the Rabbis, to view it as the fig-tree, which from early times had been regarded by the Semitic Babylonians, and evidently by the Semites generally, as a sacred tree. The date-palm appears to have been the special sacred tree of the East, but there were others, amongst them the fig and the pomegranate (see Ezekiel-SBOT, pp. 181, 182; Perrot and Chipiez's "Art in Chaldæa and Assyria;" Trumbull's "Threshold Covenant," p. 230; Barton's "Semitic Origins," p. 90). Professor Barton, with Cheyne, thinks that in the original story of Genesis III, there was but one tree, and he identifies the tree of knowledge with the date-palm mentioned in the Jewish book of Enoch (chap. 24). Dillman, however, in commenting upon the tree of knowledge (Genesis, Vol. I, p. 153), refers to Enoch 32, where the tree of knowledge is referred to as "like the Carob tree: its fruit is like the clusters of the vine, very beautiful." Athenæus in his "Deipnosophists," refers to the fig-tree as "the guide to men to lead them to a more civilized life." He adds, "The Athenians call the place where it was first discovered The Sacred Fig; and the fruit from it they call hegeteria, that is to say, 'the guide,' because that was the first to be discovered of all the fruits now in cultivation" (p. 125).

There is no reference in the O. T. to dates, whereas figs are frequently referred to. Dr. Cheyne thinks that the fruit Eve partook of and then gave to Adam was the equivalent of an intoxicating drink in its evident possession of exhilarating qualities, which is another reason for his seeing the date-palm in the tree of knowledge, date wine being the most used intoxicant in Arabia and in early Babylonia and Assyria (pp. 77, 78). But it would seem that figs were also considered exhilarating in the sense inferred in the narrative in Genesis. Athenæus refers to a fruit like the fig in shape called *glukuside* against which women guarded themselves on account of its evil effect. What this evil effect was we know from the significance attached to figs and pomegranates which, owing to their innumerable seeds, were common symbols of woman's prolific powers. Pausanias refers to a statue of the goddess Hera as holding in one hand a sceptre and in the other a pomegranate. "As to the pomegranate," he says, "let me pass that over, for I am forbid to speak of it" (B. II, c. 17). We know, however, from other sources what the pomegranate signified. Hera was the patron deity of marriage, her sceptre represented authority, and her pomegranate fertility. The pomegranate entered largely into Babylonian and Assyrian art decoration as a symbol of fertility. Sargon is represented standing before a sacred conventionalized tree covered with fruit, in one hand he carries three pomegranates, their stems verging into one which he holds, while his other hand is raised in the posture of prayer. The scene evidently depicts a ritual act significant of fruitfulness (Perrot and Chipiez *ib.*, p. 99). Pomegranates were as much prized by the Hebrews as figs, and were much used in their art and ritual adornments. There is, therefore, every reason to assume that they were familiar with its phallic significance, as also with the fig in its associated connection. The fig was carved on Roman monuments as the symbol of the female power of reproduction (Westropp-Primitive Symbolism, p. 31).

With all this evidence before us we can understand why the aprons were represented as made of fig leaves, since the leaves were connected with the fruit they had just eaten, and bore the same phallic significance. That the woman herself in replying to the serpent added, "neither shall ye touch it lest ye die," in no sense makes against our suggestion, but rather strengthens it. They had eaten of the forbidden tree, and they now further transgress by taking of its leaves to hide a nakedness which was too vivid a reminder of their first transgression. Thus it is that poor human nature vainly attempts to cover up its wrong doing by fresh acts of violence. Nor is anything to be gained by asking, why they did not choose the leaves of some other kind of tree. One may as well ask why they did not eat of the tree of life immediately after eating of the tree of knowledge. Both trees grew in the midst of the garden, and being near one another the guilty pair might easily have counteracted the evil effect of eating of the one by eating of the other. The narrative suggests that they knew the property of the tree of life, and so knowing they were driven out of the garden and prevented returning 'for fear they should put forth their hands and take also of this tree. They had plenty of time to take of it before they were driven out. Why did they not do it? Simply because the narrator did not intend that they should. He is retelling an old myth with alterations aud additions to suit the purpose he has in view, and not recording actual historic detail. Despite Dr. Cheyne's objection, the narrative in Genesis III is still best explained as an allegory based upon an ancient myth, and filled in with folklore and symbolism.

Dr. Cheyne referring to my suggestion that fig-leaves were chosen from which to

make the aprons because of their phallic significance, asks, "what evidence is there that the Semitic peoples regarded them as symbols of sex?" The answer is easy. The O. T. is full of evidence that the Hebrews knew of, made, and wore phallic ornaments. It is not at all likely then that they would have been ignorant of the phallic meaning of the fig and its leaves.

But again, Dr. Cheyne thinks that "The serpent to the editor is as free from lustfulness as the erect (because semi-divine) serpent represented in bronze by Nebuchadnezzar" (p. 81). Dr. Cheyne, however, gives no evidence as warrant for this assertion, consequently we may dismiss it as a mere personal opinion expressed without any adequate reason, an opinion, moreover, which appears to us to be contrary to the plain teaching of the narrative. Professor Barton once doubted the accuracy of the Rabbis seeing in this serpent the symbol of sexual passion (Sem. Orig., p. 93). In reply, however, to a communication from me in which I had given reasons for practically adopting this opinion of the Rabbis, he wrote, "I am convinced by the evidence you present that you are right." In my original article I had claimed that the Rabbis "were in error in viewing the serpent as the mere personification of sexual passion, but that there was something after all in the thought (p. 273) . . . viz.; that it rightly interpreted the serpent's presence in Genesis III, to be based upon its erotic designs on women" (p. 274). Dr. Cheyne holds that "The object of his conversation with the woman is not altogether clear," and "the true sequel of the opening of the eyes in Genesis VII has perished" (p. 79). The object, however, is perfectly clear if our interpretation of this narrative be correct, and the sequel of the opening of the eyes has not been lost, but is very much in existence in unlawful sexual indulgence, more commonly practiced than any other sin. That the object of Genesis III was to describe the origin of this evil I am still convinced, an opinion in which I have the support of many able scholars. The conversation of the serpent with the woman was consequently for the purpose of proposing this sexual union, an opinion Professor Barton has also expressed in so many words; while the opening of the eyes indicates its accomplishment.

I am at a loss to understand Dr. Cheyne's reference to my explanation of the curse on the serpent and his seed as "a new and somewhat strange interpretation" (p. 81). It was as follows,—"This is the curse on the serpent, viz., that having hitherto possessed the power of erect movement while still retaining its natural shape, "Henceforth it shall only move on its belly, a degraded and despised creeping thing" (p. 279). Says Driver, "The mark of the serpent's curse consists in its crawling gait, and dusty food" (Genesis p. 47). Says Dillman, "This creeping in the dust makes it a low despised creature" (Genesis p. 157). As so far agreeing with my representation these two noted scholars evidence that there is nothing new and strange in my explanation of the curse. I say, so far, because perhaps Dr. Cheyne has reference to what is really the outcome of the curse,—"it shall bruise thy head, and thou shalt bruise his heel." My explanation of these words was that although the woman by her greater passion had been the seducer of the man, yet she would eventually overcome the mere desire for sexual intercourse in seeking marriage for higher aims and purposes; it was to be a triumph of reason over sense (pp. 280,284). This I claimed was to be the real protevangelium of this passage (ver. 15, p. 281). But if it is this interpretation to which Dr. Cheyne alludes as "new and strange;" while I concede that it may be *new*, what is there *strange* about it? The curse on the woman is definitely represented as causing her to continue passionately desiring the man for sexual union (ver. 16; see Driver, Dillmann,

etc., on this verse). But this cannot possibly be viewed as of perpetual continuance, since it is contrary to experience and our very conception of the purity of woman. A victory, therefore, over what is undoubtedly represented as the sequel of the curse put upon the woman must be assumed. It is this victory which I have represented as foreshadowed in the triumph of the woman's seed over that of the lustful serpent. If my interpretation of this whole narrative is correct, then there is nothing strange in my particular interpretation of the hope held out to the woman, since it is simply in keeping with, while a glorious ending to, the moral of the story.

It seems to me that Dr. Cheyne's mistake is in rejecting the view, which he concedes is that of the majority of scholars, of the story in Genesis III, as a compact whole. Undoubtedly it is made up of the different elements to which I have referred, but the object in gathering these elements together is to narrate a fresh and complete story based upon an old myth, a story in which folklore and figure have been included, and which can be best, or indeed only satisfactorily explained from an anthropological standpoint.

We shall refer to but one other point, viz., Dr. Cheyne's opinion that the last editor, or in other words, the narrative as we have it, represents that "it was not God's will that man and woman should beget children" (p. 82). Now here, undoubtedly, we have a strange interpretation of the drift of this narrative, and one not only without adequate evidence, but also contrary to its representation. The reason offered for this opinion is "that God was jealous of his aspiring creature man," and Dr. Cheyne refers us to cp. iii 22, vi 3, and xi 1-9. But notice that all these passages occur after God declared that the desire of the woman should be to her husband and that she should bring forth children with pain, so that to say that God was not willing that the man and woman should beget children because he was jealous of their ambition when because of this very ambition he predicts the begetting of children with pain, is to make the narrative contradict itself. It is true that the narrative represents God as being angry owing to the consummation of the act of union between the man and the woman. But this was merely because this union had been brought about from a mere lustful desire, and not because of this union in itself. The three first chapters of Genesis taken together plainly indicate that God intended the man and the woman to beget children, and that notwithstanding their transgression He still purposed their accomplishing of this end. Dr. Cheyne claims that "the lore of sexual taboo does not help us here." On the contrary, it appears to me to be exactly what does help us. It is the danger of unchecked license in sexual union, with the necessity of temporary restraint, which the narrative intends to teach, both features being included in the well known custom of sexual taboo (Crawley—The Mystic Rose, pp. 343-345).

In criticising Genesis III, Dr. Cheyne has not attempted to explain this narrative as a whole, indeed he rejects the idea that it is "a compact whole." He has not, therefore, attempted to draw any spiritual or moral lesson from this wonderful story, while his explanation of some of its details is, as we have seen, both singular and without warrant. And here, in closing, I will take the opportunity of referring to Driver's explanation of Genesis III. He, too, appears to me to miss the real purport of the story, while of one particular he gives an extraordinarily absurd explanation. Referring to the curse on woman that she should bring forth children with pain, he says, "even in regard to child-bearing, it is no doubt the case that at this critical moment of a woman's life, the sense of past wrong doing weighs peculiarly upon her" (*ib.* p. 49). There is no need here for comment.

Since the above was written, there has appeared the interesting volume on "Palaces of Crete and Their Builders," by Angelo Mosso. Amongst other discoveries in this ancient centre of primitive worship, two female figurines have been found which Mr. Evans, their discoverer, terms "Snake-goddess." Mosso gives merely a description of these statuettes without explaining their significance beyond alluding to the term applied to them by Evans (pp. 137, 274). From their dress and ornaments, they are evidently priestesses. Both hold serpents in their hands, and one has serpents coiled round the waist; while in both the maternity idea is strikingly emphasized by the prominently exposed breasts. It will be remembered that in my former article (The Outward Form of the Original Sin p. 275), I referred to the dedication and marriage of priestesses with the snake-god; together with the widespread belief in the association of the woman with the serpent for erotic purposes. In alluding to female idols brought from New Guinea, which show a serpent in a similar association to that which I have maintained is intimated in Gen. III, I had then no idea that in a few months the explorer's spade would bring to light in Crete female figurines of an ancient worship in which evidently the serpent and woman are erotically associated. This remarkable find, so near the centre in which Gen. III, was composed, seems to me to complete the evidence I had already given in support of the opinion that the associating of the woman with the serpent in Gen. III, is based upon the widespread primitive belief in their erotic relationship.

LITERATURE.

The Foreign Missionary, an Incarnation of a World Movement, by Arthur Judson Brown, Fleming H. Revell Company, New York, 1907. pp. 412.

This author gives us here a comprehensive discussion in nineteen chapters of the missionary's motive and aim, of missionary administration, qualificatiou, appointment, work, support, physical, intellectual and spiritual life, relations to the Board, the home church, the natives, the associates, critics, the spirit and reward of the missionary. The author has corresponded and travelled in mission lands and his book is the best so far in the field. There are now 18,591 Protestant foreign missionaries in non-Christian lands, and in 1906 the Christians of Europe and America gave for maintenance of these churches, hospitals, schools, etc., over $21,000,000. The stations and out-stations aggregate 36,748 and the number of definitely known adult converts and adherents is 6,202,631. The missionary is a central figure in all this great movement and there has been too little written about him. We are told that the old days of cheap living have passed away, that the Asiatic knows well our own vices and ways, even our sectarian differences and still worse our irreligion, so that we no longer confront a cringing heathenism, but an aroused militant Asia which has wakened to a new consciousness of unity and power. In every colony the dominant power is hated because no subject people love their conquerors. China is filled with a proud-spirited people, chafing because foreigners occupy so many of their best harbors and because foreign equipments of war menace their very capital. The occurrences of the last few years have greatly increased the hostility of the Chinese for all foreigners. The gulf between the East and the West is widening and as traders, travellers and officials greatly outnumber missionaries, it is they that fix the status of the foreigner in the native mind and their conduct has intensely aggravated the hostility against the whites which is often indiscriminating and very hard to overcome. The Oriental does not object to Christianity as such, but is hospitable and tolerant, and every new religion is an object of curiosity. The missionary finds it very difficult to adapt himself to the habits and customs of the people among whom he works, but this is essential in order to bridge the barriers. The Westerner is apt to be brusque and peremptory. He is in a hurry, while the Oriental is never impatient of delays. The latter is polite and ceremoniously leisurely and lays great stress upon manners. Surely the missionary must know the people among whom he works to understand customs and etiquette. To look at a Chinese official through glasses is rather insulting and missionaries who wear them have to explain. To call in a sedan chair with short handles is an insult. Presents must be wrapped in a peculiar way. To walk rapidly classes one with a coolie. To ask for the health of a moslem's wife is an inexcusable insult. To count the children brings bad luck. The native mode of salutation is often far better than our handshaking. Squatting and even sleeping on the floor is often ceremonial. Many of our works of art are regarded as highly improper. We often do not laugh aright. For our women not to wear veils is indecent in many lands and provokes the vilest kind of gossip. To teach boys

and girls in the same school, to break up the seclusion of woman in the far East is often disastrous and revolutionary. If China becomes Christian, her churches will not be Gothic, nor her schoolhouses like ours, but they will conform to the native taste. Outbreaks have been caused by tapping an idol with a cane, by entering a mosque without removing the shoes. Visitors, too, have committed unpardonable acts of sacrilege. This author very conservatively declares "Some study of the natives' religion is a wise preparation for successful missionary work." This is extremely tame because religion is the root of every one's life and no matter how low, or how base the religion is, one can only understand a man through it. The very first requirement of a missionary should be not only to know but to idealize, and that in all possible detail, the religion of those among whom he labors.

The Historical Bases of Religions, Primitive, Babylonian, and Jewish, by HIRAM CHELLIS BROWN. Herbert Turner & Co., Boston, 1906. pp. 319.

The author devotes the first chapter to the origin and development of the religious sense which he thinks acquired slowly by man through ages of misconception and ignorance solely by human means, just as every other faculty is developed, although it has filled a larger place in human thought than any intellectual sense and is a most important factor in molding human character. Only when guided by reason and properly restrained does it exert not only a powerful but a salutary influence upon the individual and upon the community. Part second is devoted to the Babylonian religion and part third to the Jewish which takes up more than half the book and in which he treats of the land of Canaan, the descendents of Shem, tradition versus history, God and prophets, Mosaism, Deuteronomy and Judaism. Those who wrote religious and ancient histories almost never desired to leave an unbiased statement, but sought to give weight and currency to institutious and doctrines which they were in fullest sympathy with. This was especially the case with the Jews whose literature was priestly. Beside the old traditional view of the rise, meaning and importance of the Israelites, is the new one that Israel arose just as other nations did, were no special favorites of heaven or in any sense divinely led. They had no divine mission and the importance with which they have been accredited is due to false assumption. All the evidence to the contrary is based on the Scriptures itself. The Jews had little respect for their own ancient history and condemned the earlier development, allowing only that of the Mosaic time and its Davidic reflex to stand. Their purpose, in other words, was not history, but the theocratic ideal, and this annihilated the sense of objective truth and regard for actual events. Never were there more audacious history makers than the Rabbins. Every nation has its ideals. Those of the Greeks were embodied in their art and literature, the Roman in law and the Jewish ideals are expressed in the lives of Moses and David, as ours are in the traditional Washington, Franklin and Jefferson. The actual morality of the ancient Hebrews was "extremely low." Jacob had "a total want of moral sense." David was egotistic in the extreme and this is the trait that has caused the Jews to be disliked ever since. They alone refused to get into common intercourse with mankind, maintaining their peculiar rights and unsocial manners with sullen obstinacy, and thus making themselves obnoxious to the world. The exclusiveness, bigotry, intolerance and persecution which they exercised toward others has been paid to them ever since. Their pernicious doctrine was that God had favorites and this has wrought incalculable mischief. As this view came into power in the early Christian centuries, Greece and Rome declined because it erected a wall across the pathway of human progress.

Adonis, Attis, Osiris. Studies in the History of Oriental Religion, by J. G. FRAZER. Macmillan & Company, Ltd., London, 1907. pp. 452.

In this second edition some minor corrections have been made and some further matter added, misunderstandings eliminated and further evidence given upon disputed points. The substance of this book, we are pleased to note, is not only an expansion of the author's famous "The Golden Bough," but will form a part of the third edition of that work which is soon due. The first book treats of Adonis and shows how changes of season were explained by the life and death of gods, and his worship in Syria and Cyprus is explained. There is no more interesting chapter in the book than that on sacred men and women in Asia, Africa and elsewhere, and the conception of the sense of gods and the reincarnation of the dead. A very long section is devoted to the burning of Landan, the god of corn and grain. This involves an account of the burning of other apotheosized men and their connection with volcanic and other unusual religions, with chapters on the ritual of Adonis. Attis, too, is a god of vegetation who is the father of a god, has human representatives, is hanged, etc. Osiris is their Egyptian counterpart who plays perhaps the central rôle in the official calendar of the Egyptian farmer. He is a corn god, tree spirit and god of fertility and of the dead, as indeed was Isis originally. They are interpreted as sun and moon gods respectively. The volume is crowded with suggestive facts most comprehensively grouped.

Die religiöse Kindererziehung im Deutschen Reich, von WILHELM GÜTTLER. Walther-Rothschild, Berlin, 1908. pp. 331.

This volume is based upon a very careful study of the laws of German states concerning religious training and the author allows himself but relatively little scope for opinions of his own, save in a brief introduction. He is, however, very profoundly concerned with reforming the present status of German laws regarding the religious education of children of mixed parentage, that is of Catholics and Protestants. A special detailed provision for such is made in all German laws. Still others specify what shall be done with illegitimate children and with those who are adopted. It is upon these points that the law is most explicit and that this author dwells. The principle of having girls brought up in the religion of the mother and the boys of the father does not seem to him entirely satisfactory.

The Psychology of Inspiration; an Attempt to Distinguish Religious from Scientific Truth and to Harmonize Christianity with Modern Thought, by GEORGE LANSING RAYMOND. Funk & Wagnalls Company, New York, 1908. pp. 340.

This work seems to have been written to show that a man can be both a Christian minister and a man of science. After two chapters on the nature of truth, the writer discusses the mind's susceptibility to spiritual or inspirational as contrasted with material influences, the contributions from conscious intellectual to that which is received from the subconscious. The suggestive character of revealed truth, the significance and form of suggested truth, rational methods of interpreting Bible statements, Christian dogmatism, the church, the conscious, conduct, faith, belief, etc., as affected by considering spiritual truth through suggestion. The book is rather easy and pleasant reading with remarkably clear printing, but not making any very radical new contributions. It might be described as an application of the principle of suggestion to religious faith.

The Philosophical Basis of Religion, by JOHN WATSON. A series of lectures. James Maclehose & Sons, Glasgow, 1907. pp. 485.

Those who have read Dr. Watson's early writings will be able to forecast what is the character of book he has here given us. Strong, able, vigorous, confident and very well read, he posits the relations between religion and authority; describes the development of dogma; the relations of science and morality to religion; tells us how idealism is a philosophy of religion; contrasts it with the new realism; lays down laws of religious experience; takes a fall out of pragmatism and another out of James's Philosophy of Religion; discusses the relations between Christianity and history, the gnostic philosophy, Augustine, mediæval theology, that of Leibnitz and the Protestants and concludes with a summary of the relations between God and man. Six of the seventeen lectures were given before the Brooklyn Institute. Together they attempt to reconstruct the history of religious belief and assume that complete revision of current theology is necessary. He eliminates technical terms and on the whole has written a readable book, despite the fact that it is egregiously spun out and is marred by too many repetitions.

Sexualethik, von CHRISTIAN v. EHRENFELS. F. J. Bergmann, Wiesbaden, 1907. pp. 99.

This professor of philosophy who has already written many sporadic articles upon the subject, here brings together his views into a more systematic whole. He desires to stand for a new system of practical ethics which shall place the entire problem of the relation of sexes upon a basis of the most effective propagation of citizens of a state. To this end he even attacks the doctrine of monogamy and even intimates that laws punishing seduction might be remitted for certain élite men, provided they shall have been given a prolonged course of mental, moral and physical training to bring them up to the highest standard. The children of such, though illegitimate, might be educated at public expense. We forbear here to discuss his problem further.

Grundriss der Religionsphilosophie, von D. CARL STANGE. Theodor Weiche, Leipzig, 1907. pp. 36.

This booklet is made up of the author's dictations for his course at Greifswald on Religious Philosophy and of course does not contain the author's more extensive and unwritten treatment. It must suffice our purpose here to say that in the first part on religious experience, the author deals with the epistemological problem of religion, the formal character of its concepts and its concrete content. In the second part, the historical character of religion is discussed, including its manifoldness and religion as history.

The Church and the Changing Order, by SHAILER MATTHEWS. The Macmillan Company, New York, 1907. pp. 255.

The writer first discusses the crisis of the church and its various aspects, its relations to scholarship, to the gospel of the risen Christ, to the gospel of brotherhood, social discontent and materialism, the sword of the crisis. In this work the writer leaves the task of detailed criticism and attempts to speak as a man to his fellow Christians.

The Materials of Religious Education, being the principal papers presented at, and the proceedings of, the Fourth General Convention of the Religious Education Association, at Rochester, N. Y., Feb. 5-7, 1907. Executive Office of the Association, Chicago, 1907. pp. 379.

This volume contains abstracts of many interesting addresses which are: Are we a Christian nation?; The quickening of the public conscience; Religious education in universities and colleges; Ministerial supply; The pastor as a teacher; Moral education; Ethical value of physical training and play; Boys' fraternities; The infant's nervous system; The ideal young people's society; Library work, etc.

Conversion in Relation to the Sunday School, by FREDERICK EBY. Baylor University Bulletin, Vol. X, No. 5, Sept., 1907. pp. 20.

Dr. Eby collected the answers of 1,248 Baptists as to the age and time of conversion. Of these 443 were ministers and 439 were women. Subsequently 339 students answered the same question. The curve he prints shows that the great majority of conversions occur between ten and twenty-five; that it occurs more frequently and earlier in girls than in boys, although maximal age in both is fourteen. It seems very clear that conversion is a normal experience and should be expected and that this is the time for it.

Scholasticism Old and New. An introduction to scholastic philosophy, mediæval and modern. By M. DE WULF. Translated by P. Coffey. Benziger Bros., New York, 1907. pp. 327.

The translator undertook his task in order to give the advocates of modern systems of philosophy as opposed to scholasticism better information about the latter than is usually found in English and to aid students who wish to study scholasticism in a connected way, and thirdly, to exhibit to English readers an insight into the meaning, spirit and progress of the scholastic revival that has been going on for the last quarter of a century; and lastly, to prepare the way for translating the Louvain course in philosophy.

Friedrich Nietzsche, the Dionysian Spirit of the Age, by A. R. ORAGE. T. N. Foulis, London, 1906. pp. 81.

The chief point of this book is that the writer finds the key note to all Nietzsche's writings in his conceptions of Apollo versus Dionysos, the former representing convention and order and the latter riotous infractions of order or the vitality that is transcendent and breaking up every established status.

Der litterarische Charakter der neutestamentlichen Schriften, von C. F. GEORG HEINRICI. Dürr'schen Buchhandlung, Leipzig, 1908. pp. 127.

After giving the history, in the second chapter the author takes up Hellenism and Judaism, then the original conditions of the New Testament writing, then literary form and the means of expression therein found.

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FOUR TYPES OF PROTESTANTS.

A COMPARATIVE STUDY IN THE PSYCHOLOGY OF RELIGION.

BY JEAN DU BUY, Ph. D.

Introduction.

The following pages are primarily devoted to a comparison of the psychological characteristics of the Calvinists, the Methodists, the Baptists, and the Unitarians. No one will be so rash as to deny that theological differences exist between the various kinds of Protestants. But I have been led to the conviction that the real characteristics of the above-mentioned four kinds of Protestants are, not theological, but psychological; that the typical representatives of these four kinds of Protestants are distinct religious types; that, looked upon from a psychological standpoint, they are different human beings, or, possibly, the same human being at different stages of his religious development. I selected the Calvinists, the Methodists, the Baptists, and the Unitarians because they are, to my mind, the four most distinct types of Protestants which have developed throughout the history of Protestantism, and are, probably, the four most important types of Protestants which have flourished in America.

The first part of this study contains a description of each of these four types. This description is based upon the best books, dealing with these four religious movements, which I could find. I have used the volumes of the American Church History Series, written by leading men of the various denominations in question, as well as works on general Church history, and theological dictionaries. All the facts,

which I give, have been taken from one or another of these books. In the case of each of these four religious movements, the facts have been drawn from a book written by a recognized leader of that very denomination or from a book that endeavors to give an impartial account of all denominations. Even the criticisms, contained in the descriptive part of this study, have been taken from one or another of these books. I make no claim to a specialist's knowledge of any of these four religious movements. I, therefore, have not hesitated to quote striking sentences literally from the authors whom I have used, and that even without using quotation marks. My one endeavor, in this part of my study, has been to give a clear and impartial description of each of the four types of Protestants. I have taken pains not to show any preference to any of the four religious movements under discussion, but to treat them all with an equal sympathy.

Above all, I do not give my personal impressions of any existing denomination of to-day. When I speak of the typical Calvinist, I do not mean the average member of a present-day Presbyterian or Congregational church. In the same way, when I speak of the typical Methodist, Baptist, or Unitarian, I do not mean the average member of a present-day Methodist, Baptist, or Unitarian church. In order to find out the typical representative of any religious movement, we have to study the whole history of that movement, and, in particular, the characteristics of the founder and of the early leaders of the movement, as well as the characteristics of the laymen who were attracted by the movement when it was young. If we do this with regard to the four religious movements under discussion, we shall find that Calvin himself was the typical Calvinist, whose main characteristics have been repeated in every genuine Calvinist; that Wesley and Francis Asbury and the other early Methodist preachers, as well as the early converts to Methodism, were the typical Methodists; that the Swiss Anabaptists and, among English-speaking people, Roger Williams, who is known in religious history as the first American Baptist, may be regarded, in many respects, as typical Baptists; and that Channing may be considered, in many respects, as a typical Unitarian.

Yet my endeavor has been not merely to give a correct description of the typical Calvinist, the typical Methodist, and so on, but rather to convince my readers that the typical representatives of these four kinds of Protestants, that men like Calvin, Asbury, Roger Williams,

and Channing, are distinct religious types. I, therefore, compare, in the second part of this study, the typical representatives of these four kinds of Protestants with each other with regard to a number of carefully selected topics. I use the facts, contained in the descriptive part of this study, as my material for the comparison of the second part. The thirty topics under which I compare the four kinds of Protestants were suggested to me by the material contained in the first part.

It might seem to some of my readers from what I say on the first twenty-six topics as if the difference between these four types of Protestants is merely a difference in temperament. But the discussion of the last four topics will convince many of my readers, I trust, that the real difference between these four types is a difference in age and in the stage of religious development, and, to some extent, a difference in sex.

CHAPTER I.

Description of the Four Types.

1. The Typical Calvinist.

Calvinism stands for a strenuous moral discipline. Calvin himself drew the bands of discipline tightly at Geneva, and insisted upon a severe, strenuous, and even austere morality. He had an autocratic strain in his character. The typical Calvinist is distinguished by habits of orderliness, moral correctness, reverence, and obedience to authority, as well as by self-respect, personal responsibility, and conscientiousness. Calvinism secures moral discipline in the daily life, and is distinguished for strictness in the training of children. The Calvinist believes discipline essential for the spiritual upbuilding of the community. The greatness of Calvinism lies in its ethical strenuousness. Its strength lies in its power to develop strength of character, as well as in its superior family discipline.

The pervading principle of Calvin's theology was the idea of the sovereignty of God. Calvin's God was an Almighty Ruler, upon whose will the lives and the fortunes of men depended; a King, whom men had to fear. It was Calvin's absorbing aim to bring his own life and the lives of others into subjection to the will of God. He believed in the necessity of entire submission to God's will. He dared not disobey what he believed to be the will of the Almighty.

He was not a man who easily yielded to entreaties; but his reluctance was promptly overcome when another, speaking with the fervor of a prophet, threatened him with the curse of God in case he refused to obey God. The fear of God was the centre of Calvin's religious life, just as it has been with the Hebrew prophets. The love of God had no place in his theology. There was a large infusion of the Old Testament spirit in Calvin's religion. Indeed, the Old Testament was studied by the early Calvinists with an absorbing interest.

Calvinistic preaching was solemn, severe, inculpatory, and gloomy.

Calvin clung to the idea of a state-church, and retained the baptism of infants. Indeed, the friends of state-churches have always shown a determination to maintain infant baptism.

The civil laws which Calvin framed at Geneva were conceived in the spirit of the Hebrew theocracy. Offences against the moral law were treated as crimes in Geneva. No distinction was made by the early Calvinists between sins and crimes. The Genevan ideal was that of a community consecrating its political and social life to God's glory, and aiming at the immediate realization of God's kingdom, at the establishment of the direct rule of God upon earth, of a theocracy, through the repression of all base habits and instincts by the whole weight of collective authority, that is, through the influence of discipline.

The typical Calvinist is intellectual. Calvin himself was distinguished by an uncommonly clear and powerful intellect. The typical Calvinist dwelled on the intellectual side of religion. Calvinistic preaching was didactic, and was an appeal to the intellect rather than to feeling.

The typical Calvinist is logical. Calvin's own mind was exceedingly clear and logical. He early formed the habit of arranging his thoughts logically, and of thus reducing them to order. The typical Calvinist is distinguished by his logical precision, as well as by his keen analysis and sharp argumentation.

The typical Calvinist is a systematizer of thought. Calvin himself had a genius for organizing thought. The typical Calvinist endeavors to erect a theological system by means of logical inference. His creed surpasses those of all other Protestants in systematic elaborateness. He is characterized by an over-confidence in the adequacy of logic to bring theological thought into a system.

The typical Calvinist is an organizer by nature. Calvin himself had a genius for organizing.

The typical Calvinist is a theologian. Calvin's main interest was in theology and in doctrinal soundness. The typical Calvinist puts theological doctrine into the foreground. He is distinguished by his fine-spun theological definitions. His interest in dogmatic theology is intense. He is more interested in doctrinal questions than all other Protestants.

The typical Calvinist is dogmatic. Calvin himself was dogmatic. He required theological agreement with his teaching at Geneva. In the same way, the typical Calvinist requires theological agreement to his standards, or doctrinal uniformity. He emphasizes doctrinal soundness as being of great importance for the religious life. He strenuously resists what he believes to be dangerous departures from sound doctrine.

The dogmatism of the Calvinist leads to dissension. While the Calvinists require theological agreement, or doctrinal uniformity, yet their logical and dogmatic attitude of mind naturally results in disagreement and in polemics, and tends to divide them into hostile parties and sects. The emphasis put on doctrinal soundness makes men anxious to expose the doctrinal errors of others.

The typical Calvinist is intolerant. Calvin, personally, was intolerant. He tolerated but one form of doctrine and of worship. The intensity of his own convictions made him impatient with dissent. He would meet with a pitiless hostility attacks made upon what he believed to be the truth. He believed in suppressing religious dissent by force. He considered heresy a crime which the civil authority was bound to punish. The civil laws of Geneva, therefore, punished severely the teaching of divergent theological doctrines. The early Calvinists held to the doctrine that heresy should be punished by civil authority. Dangerous heresies have to be extirpated by the magistrate. The settlers of New England repressed dissent, and banished dissenters.

On the other hand, the typical Calvinist, everywhere, learned to defend his rights against the tyranny of civil rulers. While, in the constitution which Calvin created at Geneva, the jurisdiction of the Church unduly abridged the liberty of the individual, yet the idea of the sovereignty of God, the conviction that man owes supreme alle-

giance to a Heavenly King, gave the Calvinist the moral strength to humble the might of his earthly king. It is thus that Calvinism, indirectly, leads to civil liberty.

The typical Calvinist is unemotional. Calvin himself was greatly lacking in feeling. He became early distinguished by a certain strictness and severity of character. The tone of Calvinistic piety was severe. The typical Calvinist shuns extravagances of feeling and of expression.

Calvinism sought to embrace the whole population of the state within the scope of its influence. But Calvin actually reached the higher and better educated class of society primarily. He was preeminently a scholar. His words did not touch the hearts of the common people.

Calvinism has set up a high standard of intelligence for both its ministers and its laity. It stands for an educated ministry.

But the typical Calvinist is opposed to scientific investigation. The requirement of doctrinal uniformity pledges all ministers to teach the views formulated in the standards of the Church.

Calvin professed the doctrine of the supremacy and the sufficiency of the Bible as the only norm of faith and of practice. The Calvinist is convinced that there must be some final test of religious truth, and finds this test in the Bible. The final authority of the Bible forms his test of religious truth.

The typical Calvinist is conservative. Calvin himself was conservative. The typical Calvinist is the most conservative of all Protestants. He is less prompt than others to accept new views. He ignores the claims of new views instead of submitting them to a searching examination.

The typical Calvinist does not grow in his religious views. Calvin himself did not change his opinions at all from the time of his conversion until his death at the age of fifty-five.

2. The Typical Methodist.

The principal object of early Methodism was the conversion of souls, that is, the bringing about of a change of heart in those who are "in a natural condition". This change may be a reformation from habits of swearing, fighting, lying, gambling, or drinking, so that the converted person becomes a new man, or even a preacher. Or the

change of heart may be a change in a man's relation to God, a change from a religion of the head to a religion of the heart, from an intellectual form of religion to what Methodists call experimental religion. Thus Wesley's conversion consisted in a change from the attitude of a servant to the attitude of a child of God. His religion changed from a religion of fear to one of trust and of love; the centre of his religious life shifted from fear of God to trust in God and love of God. His God is a God of love, the Father of all who loves all.

The religion of the Methodist is a religion based on personal experience, on the experience of the forgiveness of our sins, on a sense of pardon of all past sins. Inseparably connected with this sense of pardon is the new trust in God on the part of the convert. The typical Methodist insists that conversion be always preceded by an overwhelming sense of personal guilt, by what is called conviction of sin, and that it be followed by a joyful assurance of reconciliation with God. Thus Wesley, before his conversion, was continually sad because he felt under condemnation, and Francis Asbury, when a youth, fell under deep conviction. Wesley contended that a man cannot avoid being convinced that he is a sinner. His first step, in order to become a Christian, is, therefore, to repent. Full surrender to God is his first duty. An entire change of heart and life is necessary for every one.

Typical Methodist preachers demanded of a man's conversion that it be a conscious experience, usually involving a conscious submission to God. They usually demanded such a vivid consciousness of a change of heart at some definite time that all true converts were expected to be able to give a narrative of the time and the manner of their conversion. Thus Wesley's conversion occurred on Wednesday, May 24, 1738, in the evening at about a quarter before nine. The conversion of the typical Methodist, like that of Wesley, is instantaneous. Wesley himself used to call upon his hearers for instantaneous conversion. Methodist revival preachers were even loath to recognize any one as truly converted who had not experienced a large measure of emotional excitement. In other words, the typical Methodist recognizes but one form of conversion. It is these tendencies in Methodist preachers that were regarded with disfavor by many members of other Protestant denominations. As to the assurance of reconciliation with God, there has been a danger with attendants at

Methodist meetings that they may be too sure, and that they may mistake a passing personal feeling for the evidence of a lasting moral transformation.

Yet numerous conversions undoubtedly were the result of the preaching of Asbury and of other typical Methodist preachers. Indeed, Methodist preachers have been peculiarly distinguished for their success in the awakening and the conversion of souls. Asbury and other Methodist preachers were even called like a physician or a midwife, as it were, to help people through their spiritual birth into a new life. Wesley recognized the fact that a man's birth into spiritual life does not date from the act of baptism administered to him in infancy, but from his conversion. Indeed, we may divide the large Christian denominations into those which date the birth of a Christian from his baptism in infancy and those which date it from his conversion. It was through the stress which he put on conversion that Wesley unintentionally lessened the importance of baptism.

Typical Methodist preaching was distinguished by hopefulness. cheerfulness, and optimism. The Methodist preacher was always the herald of a hopeful message. The Methodist doctrine of assurance of reconciliation with God implied the element of cheerfulness and hopefulness.

Methodist preachers generally knew well how to organize classes, bands, and societies. Both Wesley and Asbury had a genius for organizing. Wesley organized his converts into little societies everywhere.

Submission to authority is a leading Methodist characteristic.

The typical Methodist is neither dogmatic nor controversial. There have never been any radical divergencies of doctrine among American Methodists. True Methodist preachers have not cared for theological controversies because they were completely absorbed in the work of the conversion and the saving of souls.

The typical Methodist is distinguished by his zeal and activity, He is indefatigable. There, surely, is such a thing as Methodist zeal. Both Wesley and Francis Asbury were burning with zeal for the conversion of souls and incessantly active. A man who has been converted himself immediately desires that others might have the same experience. Wesley, Francis Asbury, Dr. Thomas Coke, and many other early Methodist preachers travelled and preached almost inces-

santly. Each of them preached and exhorted several times a day, many times a week, Wesley himself three or four times every day, twenty or thirty times a week on an average. In 1773 Asbury formed for himself a circuit including Baltimore, extending over six counties, and comprising twenty-four appointments, and traversed it once in three weeks, preaching, exhorting, organizing classes, and holding quarterly meetings alternately. In 1787 Asbury and Dr. Thomas Coke rode on horseback at the rate of 300 miles a week, preaching every day. Wesley travelled 8,000 miles every year, and Asbury often 6,000 miles a year, and 72,000 miles during his American ministry alone, and that largely on horseback. Asbury preached about 16,500 sermons in America, and Wesley about 50,000 sermons during his lifetime. Asbury's whole work in America was distinguished by a spirit of self-denial and incessant labor. And yet he often accused himself of a lack of zeal. Dr. Thomas Coke visited America nine times.

The typical Methodist is distinguished by a certain directness and aggressiveness. His temper is aggressive. His directness and aggressiveness were among the principal elements which gave early Methodism its power. Wesley appealed to the unconverted with directness. Asbury dealt with men individually, speaking closely to them. The typical Methodist subordinates everything to the immediate practical end of the conversion of sinners. This gives him a certain rough-and-ready utilitarian spirit.

The typical Methodist is emotional. Early Methodism was a great outburst of religious feeling. Typical Methodist preaching is highly emotional. Wesley's preaching frequently excited ungovernable emotion in the hearts of many of his hearers. The emotional reactions of the people to Methodist preaching usually took the form of tears and of audible exclamations, of outcries and of screams. But there were also fainting, contortions of body, and convulsion-like fits. Often the people would weep so that the preacher could not be heard. Often the influence of his own preaching was as great upon the preacher himself as upon the people. He would be carried away by his own emotions, and would weep so that he would be unable to speak. A high pitch of religious excitement often prevailed among both, preachers and people. It is true, the Methodist preachers sought to foster a warm, emotional type of character. But there was often much unhealthy excitement and much extravagance of emotion.

The typical Methodist is distinguished by his peculiar fervency and religious enthusiasm. He is characterized by a fervor of address in preaching. Wesley infused into his sermons an uncommon fire. This Methodist fervor has shown itself, not only in what Professor Fisher calls "the rude but effective eloquence of thousands of more obscure preachers" but likewise in the powerful and amazing eloquence of great revival orators.

The genuine Methodist is decidedly a man who prays. He has family prayer. He is characterized by a singular fervor in praying.

The typical Methodist is an enthusiastic singer of hymns. The enthusiasm of the early Methodists made them the finest singers in England.

Methodism has been distinguished by revivals and camp-meetings. Many thousands have joined the churches as a result of revival preaching. At some camp-meetings as many as 20,000 people have been present. The hunger for preaching often went far beyond the power of the ministers to meet it. Laymen were heard eagerly, and preached with powerful effect. Even children preached. Many have declared that they never heard such powerful preaching, exhorting, and praying anywhere else. Camp-meetings have been the right hand of American Methodism.

The typical Methodist is, perhaps, a woman rather than a man. Women played a very important part in early Methodism. It was a woman, Mrs. Barbara Heck, who started the Methodist movement in America in 1766. Early Methodism, both in Europe and in America, owed a large debt to devout women of the spirit of Barbara Heck. Indeed, Methodism has always strongly appealed to women.

Furthermore, Methodism has always strongly appealed to the negroes of America. Many negroes attended Methodist preaching in New York as early as in 1769.

The typical Methodist is distinguished by piety and a spirit of devotion. Early Methodist piety was, however, strongly tinged with ascetism. Early Methodism strongly held to the ascetic ideal inherited from Roman Catholic monasticism. Thus nearly all the early Methodist preachers in America were unmarried. Their work of reform was confined to the conversion of souls, but was not carried into other departments of human life. The idea of conversion played such an important part in early Methodism that Methodism originally had no

enterprises which were not distinctly subordinate to the conversion of men. No room was left for any interest in either politics, social reform, science, or art. These interests belonged to the world, and must be renounced with the world. The typical Methodist was isolated from the relationships and duties of life. The application of Christian principles to the whole life of society and the realization of the kingdom of God upon earth were hardly contemplated by him as Christian duties. His goal was the salvation of the largest number of individual souls rather than the establishment of God's kingdom through the redemption of society. The Methodist form of piety was an excessive individualism : a private and individual devoutness without any social view of the religious life. The typical Methodist was given to introspection. The energy of his attention was concentrated upon the succession of inward emotions and feelings. We may, therefore, apply the name of pietism, or of pietistic individualism, to that form of piety which is characteristic of the typical Methodist.

The early converts to Methodism were mainly members of the lower classes. They were chiefly poor, uneducated, and even rude people. Indeed, Wesley himself intended his work mainly for the benefit of the lower classes in society.

The typical Methodist has but little education. Wesley did not value learning very highly in a preacher. He preferred the itinerant evangelist, who is full of zeal and of spiritual power, to the student, who is cold, reserved, and dialectical, strong in the letter, but weak in the spirit.

The typical Methodist is distinguished for being very temperate. He generally is a total abstainer from all intoxicating liquors. The General Rules of the United Society, published in 1743, forbade " buying or selling spirituous liquors or drinking them, unless in cases of extreme necessity".

The typical Methodist is emotional. Methodism naturally appeals to people of an emotional temperament. Thus an emotional woman will find in the fervency of Methodist preaching a response to the longings of her own nature. There, surely, is such a thing as a Methodist type of temperament. There is no mistaking a typical Methodist for a Calvinist or a Unitarian.

3. The Typical Baptist.

The most fundamental principle of the Baptists is their demand for

an exclusively regenerate church-membership. The typical Baptist draws a sharp line of distinction between the consciously regenerate and those who make no claim to a regenerative change. He believes in the necessity of regeneration, and demands that regeneration should precede church-membership. He maintains that the New Testament idea of a local church is that of a body of believers who have been regenerated and sanctified. He insists that a church must be composed exclusively of regenerate persons, of individuals who are assured of their conversion. He rejects infant baptism largely because it is incompatible with a regenerate church-membership. The Baptists, therefore, make regeneration and baptism on a profession of faith conditions of entering into their fellowship, and set up separate churches of the regenerate on the basis of believers' baptism. The demand of the first settlers of New England for a church-membership giving "creditible evidence" of regeneration was an Anabaptist demand.

The typical Baptist is an advocate of the complete separation of church and state. He protests against the union of the two, against all unholy alliances of church and state, as being fraught with evil. He is opposed to a state-church, Many English Baptists fought in Cromwell's army because they believed that his triumph would bring about the complete separation of church and state. Roger Williams is the foremost advocate of the complete separation of church and state in history. This Baptist principle of the complete separation of church and state seems now to be advancing to universal triumph.

The typical Baptist may be a Calvinist or an Arminian in his theology. The Regular Baptists of America are Calvinists, but the Free-will Baptists of America are Arminians. A number of speculative thinkers among the Baptists have even been Socinians and anti-Trinitarians, like the Anabaptists of Italy and those of Poland. The Regular Baptists of America have no creed to-day to which all of them have to subscribe. Submission to a creed is not a condition of membership in Baptist churches. The Bible is pre-eminently their creed. Neither Calvinistic doctrine nor any other theological view is one of the essential characteristics of the Baptists.

The typical Baptist is an advocate of absolute liberty of conscience. He believes that religion is a personal concern, a matter between the individual man and God. He regards as an enormity any attempt to force the conscience or to constrain men by outward penalties to this

or to that form of religious belief. Persecution may make men hypocrites, but true Christians never, he says. For true religion consists in the inward persuasion of the mind. The Baptist believes that a man's conscience is responsible to God alone. He denies the right of any man or body of men to exercise lordship over another man's conscience, to compel him in matters of religion. He maintains that all the power of the civil government relates only to men's civil interests, and that civil magistrates have no right to interfere with the Church. Religion is not a matter to be regulated and managed by civil rulers. The Baptist, likewise, denies the right of conferences, synods, bishops or any other ecclesiastical body to legislate for the churches. He, therefore, contends for the fullest freedom to all to worship God according to the dictates of their own conscience. What he demands is not toleration, which implies the right to punish, but magnanimously withholds it; it is perfect freedom which denies that right. The Baptists have been the pioneers in the assertion of the doctrine of religious liberty, both in England and in America. They claim that they have never persecuted. It was Roger Williams who first brought the principle of liberty of conscience prominently before the English-speaking world, and who was largely instrumental in securing its wide acceptance. The doctrine of liberty of conscience is one of the fundamental Baptist principles.

The typical Baptist is an ardent advocate of the principle of democracy. The form of government of Baptist churches is democratic. Each church governs itself by the will of a majority of its members. All church-members have the same rights and privileges. Women have the same rights as men. The pastor has no ruling authority. The pastor, like all other officers of the congregation, is chosen by the vote of the church, and holds his position only so long as seems good to the church.

Baptist churches are independent of each other, completely autonomous, not subject to any higher ecclesiastical body. It is true, Baptist churches are banded into associations. Such an association is purely voluntary, however, and has no legislative functions whatever. It cannot enact anything binding any church which is connected with it. The most that a Baptist association can do is to advise, and to recommend.

We are wont to speak of the principle of the autonomy of the con-

gregation as of a Congregational principle, and are apt to attribute its origin to the Congregationalists. But it was the Anabaptists of the 16th century who first advocated this democratic principle. It is highly probable that the English Congregationalists received their democratic conception of the Church from the Anabaptists.

The Anabaptist of the 16th century drew a sharp line of distinction between the regenerate and the unregenerate, between the Church and the World. He held that civil society consisted, in a large measure, of unregenerate people. He admitted that unregenerate civil society required man-made laws for its maintenance as well as civil magistrates for the administration of these laws. But he maintained that Christians should not become civil magistrates, since worldly posts of power are not a part of the government of the Church. Obedience is due to human enactments, as well as to the commandments of civil magistrates, only when they are not contrary to the precepts of the Bible. Besides rejecting the exercise of magistracy on the part of Christians, many Anabaptists, likewise, rejected judicial oaths, the bearing of arms, warfare, and capital punishment entirely.

On the other hand, the typical English Baptist as well as the typical American Baptist has always been a defender of civil liberty. Roger Williams deserves the gratitude of all lovers of civil liberty as the founder of the colony of Rhode Island. Many English Baptists fought in Cromwell's army because they believed that his victory would be the triumph of liberty. When the War of the Revolution broke out in America, liberty had no friends more genuine and more decided than the American Baptists. During the entire struggle for American independence, the Baptists were distinguished by their firm, consistent, and persevering patriotism. Those of Virginia and of the entire South entered into the struggle with the utmost decision and zeal, believing that civil liberty was a condition of religious liberty. Indeed, no other kind of Christian has ever been more impatient of dominion, be it civil or ecclesiastical dominion, than the typical Baptist.

Many non-Baptists have thought that the typical Baptist is fanatical and revolutionary, as many of the Anabaptists were. But it is a gross injustice to say that. It is true, many Anabaptists were fanatical, wild, lawless, immoral, iconoclastic, destructive, and revolutionary. Yet these formed only a small proportion of the whole party. The

vast majority were peaceful people. But, while being neither fanatical nor revolutionary, the typical Baptist is enthusiastic, and even visionary, it seems to me. The Swiss Anabaptists were no fanatics, but surely enthusiasts. Roger Williams, surely, was both an enthusiast and a visionary. Many of the Anabaptists expected that the millenium would be established immediately, that the kingdom of God would be set up by a mighty display of divine power. When the enthusiasm of these visionary chiliasts was fanned into fury, it inevitably led to fanaticism.

The typical Baptist may be called a socialist, or a Christian socialist, inasmuch as he is looking forward to the establishment of the kingdom of God, of a reign of righteousness, of an ideal human society. He is weighed down by the burdens of the masses, and trusts that God will bring relief from these burdens. He is an enthusiast and an idealist, and may even be called a visionary.

The typical Anabaptist as well as the typical Baptist of the time of the Great Awakening came from the lower ranks of society, from the poor and uneducated classes. The typical American Baptist of to-day belongs to the middle classes, on which the Baptist denomination has a firm hold.

Learning was originally not required in Baptist ministers. The spread of the Baptist denomination was too rapid to allow of any sort of educational standard for the ministry. But homely vigor and fervor, as well as spiritual power, characterized the unlettered Baptist preachers of the old time.

The typical Baptist is distinguished by a peculiar literalness in his interpretation of the New Testament. Like the Calvinist, he maintains the doctrine of the supremacy and the sufficiency of the Bible as the only norm of faith and of practice. He insists on applying the letter of the Bible, positively and negatively, as the ultimate test to every detail, both of doctrine and of practice. He does not recognize the right to exist of anything either in doctrine or in practice, which is not distinctly a matter of Scriptural precept or example. The Baptists thus practice immersion because they regard it as the only Scriptural mode of baptism.

But the Baptist carries out this principle of the sole authority of the Bible in practice without any regard to the consequences, while the other Protestants have omitted to do so when they thought that

the practical carrying out of the principle would lead to objectionable consequences. Thus most Christians have discarded the practice of immersion of adult persons on account of considerations of expediency. The logical application of the principle of the sole authority of the Bible on the part of the Baptist is due to his logical consistency, which, as we shall see, is one of his chief characteristics.

The typical Baptist aims to restore primitive Christianity, and lays much stress on the imitation of Jesus, on a literal obedience to his words, especially as his teaching is found in the Sermon on the Mount. This tendency has led to a peculiar literalness in the interpretation of the New Testament with him. This literalness was one main reason why many Anabaptists rejected the bearing of arms, warfare, capital punishment, judicial oaths, the exercise of magistracy on the part of Christians, as well as recompense for ministerial services.

The Baptist completely rejects the Church dogma of "baptismal regeneration". He is out of harmony with all denominations which stand for sacerdotalism, ritualism, or ceremonialism. Professor Newman speaks of the pagan view that water-baptism possesses in itself magical efficacy to secure salvation. The Baptist rejects infant baptism, and does so on the ground that it has no Scriptural authorization, either by precept or by example. He maintains that infant baptism is not only non-Scriptural, but distinctly contra-Scriptural; that it is not merely the introduction of a rite which is not authorized by the Bible, but a complete perversion of an ordinance which Jesus established for the symbolical setting forth of regeneration. But the Baptist rejects infant baptism not simply because it is un-Scriptural, but even more because it is incompatible with a regenerate church-membership.

The Baptists practice what they call "believers' baptism", that is the baptism of adult believers. Repentance, or a change of heart, and faith are the conditions upon which alone they baptize people. Those who profess repentance and faith are the only proper subjects of baptism, according to them. The water-baptism does not save any one. Those who have experienced the "new birth" have already received the real baptism. The water-baptism merely symbolizes regeneration and the new life of faith. Infants are not the proper subjects of baptism because they cannot experience the "new birth". The experience of regeneration belongs to adult persons. The Bap-

tists, therefore, restrict the rite of baptism to believers of adult years.

The Baptists practice immersion,—complete immersion. They practice baptism by "dipping the body into water" because they are convinced that baptism ought to "resemble burial and rising again" in accordance with Col. II, 12 and Rom. VI, 4. They regard immersion as the only Scriptural mode, and, therefore, as the only proper mode, of baptism. While other denominations practice sprinkling or pouring, call infant-sprinkling baptism, and, at best, accept immersion, sprinkling, or pouring as equally valid, the Baptists point to the New Testament. They argue in favor of immersion from the signification of the word baptism, from the phrase "buried with him in baptism", from the fact of the first administrators of baptism repairing to rivers, and from the practice of the primitive Church under the Apostles. They regard anything short of complete immersion as voiding the ordinance of baptism of its true symbolical significance.

The typical Baptist is logically consistent. Thus the attitude of the Regular Baptists of America on the communion question is entirely logical. These so-called close-communion Baptists are logically consistent in excluding from the Lord's Supper all Christians who have not been baptized by immersion. The Anabaptists endeavored to carry out the principles of the Reformation to their logical conclusions. They were more radical and more consistent than the Calvinists. Indeed, the Calvinist, when most logical became a Baptist. The typical Baptist is a man of profound convictions on a particular class of subjects. The distinctive principles for which he stands are, to my mind, the following eight:

1. The demand for an exclusively regenerate church-membership.
2. The rejection of infant baptism.
3. The practice of believers' baptism.
4. The practice of immersion as the only Scriptural mode of baptism.
5. Religious liberty.
6. The complete separation of church and state.
7. Democracy.
8. Civil liberty.

The typical Baptist is uncompromising on all these subjects, which, to his mind, involve fundamental principles. Thus Roger Williams consistently advocated the principles in which he believed in season

and out of season. He went wherever the logic of his convictions led him without any regard to the consequences. Considerations of expediency had no weight with him. He was often extreme and inconsiderate in the pressing of his convictions.

The typical Baptist is a radical. The Anabaptists were the radicals of the Reformation. Roger Williams, surely, was a radical. He was a born critic. As such, he would act as a stimulus in any community in which he might live. Milton, the author of "The Paradise Lost", whom Baptist writers claim as a Baptist, likewise was a radical, both in politics and in religion.

4. The Typical Unitarian.

Described in one word, Unitarianism is an appeal to reason and conscience. The typical Unitarian boldly asserts the claim of reason in religion. He appeals to reason in the interpretation of the Bible. He insists that no religious doctrine which is contrary to reason should be accepted. He contends for the freedom of private criticism and of private interpretation. He professes the right and the duty of private judgment. Channing's famous Baltimore sermon of 1819 was an appeal to the natural reason and conscience of men.

The typical Unitarian is distinguished by independence of thought and by a tendency towards rationalism. The Unitarian appeal to reason and conscience implies absolute mental freedom. The typical Unitarian is a person who wants to be unpledged to any prescribed theological doctrine. He does not recognize any creed, not even the simplest one, as binding him.

The Unitarian appeal to reason, when fully heeded, leads to what is called rationalism. The typical Unitarian is a rationalist. Channing did not mind the charge that "Unitarianism will come to pure rationalisn". He believed that for men of thought the alternative lies between a rational religion and no religion.

The charge is often made against the Unitarian that he is lacking in constructive genius. Non-Unitarians are of the opinion that the most marked doctrinal distinction of the typical Unitarian is a negative attitude towards the main features of traditional Christian doctrine rather than a constructive genius. It, surely, is a fact that most of the writings of typical Unitarians are, not constructive, but rather occasional. The fact that James Martineau stands out among Unita-

rians as the man who has made a rich and important systematic contribution to Unitarian literature apparently supports the charge that the Unitarians, on the whole, have shown a lack of constructive genius, and that in spite of their evident independence of thought. But it is also true that the typical Unitarian has intentionally refrained from erecting a doctrinal system because he has a strong dislike of dogma and of dogmatism. The typical Unitarian is hostile to creeds, and scorns "creed-making". Like Channing, he also dislikes thoroughly anything like denominational machinery for the propagating of Unitarian, or of any other theological, opinions.

The typical Unitarian has a strong dislike of dogma as well as of controversy. Typical Unitarian ministers have no interest in theological doctrines, but make ethics the main burden of their preaching. They do not dwell on their doubts and disbeliefs. Their sermons are more marked by omissions than by actual denials. Channing wished to ignore the doctrine of the Trinity. His temper was far from the temper of controversy. The typical Unitarian is no eager controversialist. Indeed, he has an almost passionate desire to escape from controversy. It is true, violent controversies have been caused between the evangelical Protestants and the Unitarians. Yet the typical Unitarian would gladly have escaped all controversies. He maintains that a clearly defined theological opinion is not essential to any hold upon religious truth, but that the religious life is possible wholly independently of any doctrines, under all theories alike. He is longing for non-dogmatic churches in which Unitarians and Trinitarians will find it possible to worship together. He has outgrown the controversial stage of religious development, and attempts to practice a religion which is free of dogma and of dogmatism. This non-dogmatic spirit forms a chief characteristic of the typical Unitarian, both in America and in England.

The Unitarian appeal to reason and conscience implies the supremacy of the individual conscience. The typical Unitarian is a person who does not recognize the authority of any church-discipline over him, and who regards his own conscience as superior to the creed of any church. He sees a great moral danger, the danger of insincerity, lurking in the assent to any creed. He thinks he has observed that men who have subscribed to a creed have become insincere, and have continued to give their assent to the creed, at least by implication,

when they no longer believed in it. The typical Unitarian, therefore, will not stay in any Church which, even tacitly, implies assent to any set of dogmas. His sense of honesty does not permit him to stay. He has the courage of his convictions, and, therefore, leaves any Church which implies assent to a creed. He thus makes assent to dogma a question of conscience.

While Unitarianism is often held to be a form of rationalism, it is yet, above everything else, an ethical movement. The main motive of what was known as "Channing Unitarianism" was ethical, humane, and secular. "Channing Unitarianism" addressed the conscience, and aimed, through moral feeling, to affect the conduct of life, to affect action, directly. It showed to best advantage in the field of the larger and finer ethics, both of individual and of social ethics. The typical Unitarian is personally distinguished by a high degree of moral rectitude of conduct and by a high sense of duty. He shows many noble and desirable qualities of character, and is best known for his scrupulous administration of great public trusts.

The typical Unitarian not only rejects the doctrine of the total depravity of human nature, but he disregards sin, more or less. He strongly believes in "the dignity of human nature and the unlimited capacities of the soul for progress in truth and goodness". The charge is often made against the Unitarian that he has lost a vivid perception of the power of sin through his idealizing of human nature, and that he is characterized by an easy self-content.

The typical Unitarian is distinguished by an active interest in political and social reform. He is interested in the latest ideas in political and social science. He is characterized by an unselfish humanitarian feeling and a deep sympathy with what is best in the political and social aspiration of his time. He has been an advocate of reforms aiming at general education, abolition of slavery, temperance, reformation of criminals, international peace, and a better social order. Channing, in the later years of his life, was most widely known as a Christian philanthropist. Many Unitarians have been conspicuous as leaders in political and social reform. Some Unitarian preachers have been drawn into close relations with leading statesmen by the common interest in politics. Many New England Unitarians have been statesmen themselves. That the typical Unitarian should be distinguished by an active interest in political and social reform is but a natural con-

sequence of the emphasis which he puts on ethics. This interest is but an attempt at the realization of those social ethics in which he so strongly believes.

The typical Unitarian is unemotional. Non-Unitarians often make the charge of lack of emotion against him. They speak of his "cold intellectualism". They are of the opinion that the religious life of the Unitarian is wholly intellectual, without any demonstration of affection; almost entirely of the head, very little of the heart. They regard him as highly respectable, but as frigid in his piety. Indeed, it must be admitted that the typical Unitarian has little of emotional warmth. He reacts from emotional preaching. He may consider any manifestation of enthusiasm in connection with religion as savoring of fanaticism. He chooses the cooler way of reason. Channing's preaching addressed the conscience rather than the feeling. Even Unitarian writers speak of "the cool temper of Boston Unitarianism". Indeed, people who appeal to reason in religion, like the typical Unitarian, are in danger of becoming one-sidedly intellectual, and of thus neglecting the life of feeling.

The typical Unitarian seems to be lacking in the religious life. Non-Unitarians often make the charge of lack of spirituality against him. They speak of the "blighting influence" and of the "deadening influence" of Unitarianism. They say that the Unitarian has lost touch with the deeper spiritual needs and religious feelings of man; that, when he examines the Bible, he does it not to meet any deep spiritual want within him. Again, it must be admitted that the typical Unitarian has little of mystical devoutness. He is a rationalist. He may also be called more secular, when compared with the evangelical Protestant. He attempts the practice of a religion which is in equal alliance with every form of modern thought and learning. As a result, he is in great danger of leading an imperfect and merely intellectual religious life. Even Unitarian writers admit a certain lack and sterility of the religious life in too many Unitarians.

Unitarianism appeals most strongly to people of culture. It finds its adherents largely in the cultivated class. The typical Unitarian is an educated and cultivated man of some wealth and of a good social position. He may be a scholar or a literary man. That Unitarianism appeals most strongly to people of culture will seem natural if we consider that it appeals to reason, and emphasizes independence of

thought. Unitarianism has never been a religion for the masses. The latter require a religion which is more emotional, and which emphasizes the inward moral struggle against temptation and sin.

A tendency toward literature is another Unitarian characteristic. This is true both of English and of American Unitarians. Many Unitarians have held an honorable rank in the world of letters in England. In New England Unitarians have distinguished themselves in literature to such an extent that the roll of New England men of letters is largely a record of Unitarian names. Channing held a high rank in the world of letters. Practically all the literary men of New England throughout the 19th century were Unitarian. Indeed, it is but natural that the culture and the conditions of general comfort and of social well-being prevailing among Unitarians should tend to develop in them a keen appreciation of literary form. But there is a danger here that this great interest in literature may bring about a proportionate neglect of the religious life.

The typical Unitarian is distinguished by his friendliness towards science. He heartily accepts the results of scientific investigation, be it in physics, in history, or in criticism. He does not fear any conflict between science and religion. American Unitarianism has produced many able men of science.

Unitarianism is a progressive form of religion. It is an expanding movement of religious thought. It has undergone great changes, and has continually advanced its position. There are great differences between ancient and modern forms of Unitarian belief. Progressiveness is a fundamental characteristic of Unitarianism. Either an unprogressive or an orthodox Unitarianism would be something self-contradictory. It is true, there are conservatives, on the one hand, and radicals, on the other hand, in the Unitarian denomination. But the typical Unitarian is neither conservative nor radical. He is progressive. He grows continually in his religious views. He believes in a progressive religious development, and feels himself to be in the process of religious development.

CHAPTER II.

Comparison of the Four Types.

1. Chief Characteristic.

With regard to the chief characteristic of each of the four kinds of

Protestants under consideration we have found that the Calvinist stands for a strenuous moral discipline; that the principal object of the Methodist is the conversion of souls; that the most fundamental principle of the Baptists is their demand for a regenerate church-membership; and that Unitarianism, described in one word, is an appeal to reason and conscience.

Since the Calvinist stands for a strenuous moral discipline in the daily life, he is peculiarly fitted for training children; since conversion is the principal object of the Methodist, and since the experience of conversion belongs primarily to young people, it follows that the Methodist is especially fitted to reach young people; since the most fundamental principle of the Baptists is the demand for a regenerate church-membership, that is, for a church-membership consisting of individuals who are assured of their conversion, and since the Methodist devotes himself to the awakening and the conversion of souls, it follows that we are right in treating the Baptist after the Methodist; finally, since Unitarianism is an appeal to reason and conscience, it follows that Unitarianism can address itself only to people in whom both reason and the individual conscience have fully developed, that is, to mature people only.

2. Ethics.

While the Methodist aims at conversion, and while the Baptists set up churches of the regenerate, both the Calvinist and the Unitarian are strong in the field of ethics. The Calvinist stands for a strenuous moral discipline, while the Unitarian is, above everything else, a preacher of ethics.

The strenuous moral discipline of the Calvinist fits him peculiarly for the training of children. On the other hand, the appeal of Unitarianism to conscience, the stress which it puts on the finer ethics, shows that Unitarianism can address itself only to mature people.

3. Attitude towards Sin.

In their respective attitude towards sin we find the greatest contrast between the Methodist and the Unitarian. The Methodist lays stress on the necessity of conversion, while the Unitarian disregards sin, more or less.

This difference will appear natural to us on the supposition that the

Methodist addresses himself primarily to young people, who are strongly conscious of their inward moral struggle against temptation and sin, while the Unitarian addresses himself to mature people, who have forgotten the time of that inward struggle against temptation and sin.

4. Attitude towards God.

In their respective attitude towards God we find the greatest contrast between the Calvinist and the Methodist. The pervading principle of Calvin's theology was the idea of the sovereignty of God, his God being a King, whom men had to fear. On the other hand, Wesley's conversion meant a change from the attitude of a servant to the attitude of a child of God.

The fact that the idea of the sovereignty of God was the pervading principle of Calvin's theology, and that the fear of God was the centre of his religious life, shows that there was a large infusion of the Old Testament spirit in Calvin's religion. On the other hand, the fact that Wesley's conversion consisted in a change from the attitude of a servant to the attitude of a child of God, and that the centre of his religious life shifted from fear of God to trust in God and love of God, shows that Wesley's religion exhibits the spirit of Jesus and of the New Testament. So much about the stage of religious evolution which Calvin's religion and Wesley's religion, respectively, represent.

On the other hand, Calvin's religion, as a religion of fear, is an expression of the religion of childhood, while Wesley's religion, as a religion of trust and of love, is an expression of the religion of those young people who have had the experience of conversion.

5. Tone of Preaching.

The contrast which we have just observed between the Calvinist and the Methodist in their respective attitude towards God finds its expression in the tone of their respective preaching. Calvinistic preaching is severe and didactic, while Methodist preaching is cheerful and hopeful.

The severe and didactic tone of Calvinistic preaching is that of the disciplinarian and the teacher who addresses himself to children, while the cheerful and inspiring character of Methodist preaching is peculiarly fitting for one who addresses himself to young people.

6. Church-Membership.

With regard to church-membership we find striking differences between the Calvinists, the Methodists, and the Baptists. Calvin, like the Roman Catholic Church, stood for an inclusive church-membership, that is, for a church-membership which includes all baptized inhabitants of the state. On the other hand, the Baptists set up separate churches on the basis of an exclusively regenerate church-membership and of believers' baptism. Wesley stood mid-way between these two extremes when he demanded of members of Methodist societies "a real desire to save their souls".

When Calvinism sought to embrace the whole population of a state within its inclusive church-membership, it acted like the public educator who seeks to include all the children of a city or a state within the scope of his discipline and his teaching; when Methodism conditions membership in Methodist societies on a real desire to save one's soul from sin, it seems to be addressing itself primarily to young people, who are strongly conscious of their inward struggle against temptation and sin; and when the Baptists make the demand of an exclusively regenerate church-membership, they are addressing themselves only to those who have had the experience of conversion.

7. Church and State.

It is hand in hand with the characteristic differences which we have just observed with regard to church-membership that other striking differences go between the Calvinists, the Methodists, and the Baptists with regard to the relation between church and state. Calvinism implies the idea of a state-church as well as that of a theocracy. On the other hand, the Baptists are advocates of the complete separation of church and state. Wesley stood mid-way between these two extremes, again, when he sought to organize his Methodist societies as a Church within the established Church of England.

The theocratic ideal of Calvinism shows, again, that there was a large infusion of the Old Testament spirit in Calvinism, while the advocacy of the complete separation of church and state on the part of the liberty-loving Baptists exhibits the same spirit which inspired the founders of our American republic.

8. Intellect.

While the strength of Methodism lies in the realm of feeling and

of emotion rather than in that of the intellect, we can easily discover three distinct types of intellect in the typical Calvinist, the typical Baptist, and the typical Unitarian. The Calvinist is intellectual and logical, the Baptist is logically consistent in acting, and the Unitarian is distinguished by independence of thought and by a tendency towards rationalism.

On the one hand, both the Calvinist and the Unitarian are decidedly intellectual; on the other hand, both the Calvinist and the Baptist are logical. While both the Calvinist and the Unitarian are intellectual, the Calvinist does not possess that independence of thought which the Unitarian has; the Unitarian appeals to reason as the final authority, while the Calvinist employs his intellect inside of the confines of traditional Christian doctrine. The independence of thought and the rationalism of the Unitarian show that the Unitarian type of intellect is far more mature than the Calvinistic type. On the other hand, while both the Calvinist and the Baptist are logical, the Calvinist is logical in thinking, the Baptist is logically consistent in acting.

9. Constructive Power.

Let us now compare the Calvinist and the Unitarian with one another with regard to the constructive power of their intellect in particular! If we do so, we shall see that the Calvinist is given to systematizing, while the Unitarian seems to have shown a lack of constructive genius.

We thus find a great contrast here between the Calvinist, who is over-confident of the adequacy of logic to bring theological thought into a system, and the Unitarian, who intentionally refrains from erecting a doctrinal system because he has a strong dislike of dogma and of dogmatism. The Unitarian attitude is a reaction from the earlier Calvinistic habit of system-making, and shows a maturer type of intellect.

10. Organizing Power.

With regard to organizing power we have found that Calvin had a genius for organizing; that Wesley, too, had a genius for organization; that the organization existing between Baptist churches is a loose one; and that the typical Unitarian dislikes any organization of the Unitarian movement.

In other words, the interest in organization becomes weaker and weaker as we proceed from the Calvinists and the Methodists to the Baptists, and, finally, to the Unitarians. Calvinism organizes its adherents as a schoolmaster organizes children; Methodism organizes its converts in a similar way, though with less strictness; the associations of the Baptists are voluntary, as organizations of young men naturally are; and Unitarians dislike to organize themselves for sectarian propaganda, as is but natural for mature men. We notice also that the Calvinist, who is given to systematizing, is also the strictest organizer, while the Unitarian, who is lacking in constructive genius, is also weak as a religious organizer.

11. Doctrine.

With regard to doctrine we have found that the Calvinist is a theologian and is dogmatic, and that his requirement of doctrinal uniformity leads to dissension; that the typical Methodist is neither dogmatic nor controversial; that neither Calvinistic doctrine, nor any other theological view, is one of the essential characteristics of the Baptists; and that the typical Unitarian has a strong dislike of dogma as well as of controversy.

Among the four types of Protestants under consideration the Calvinist is the only one who is intensely interested in theology and dogmatic in spirit, regarding doctrinal soundness as being of great importance for the religious life, and being frequently involved in theological disagreement and in polemics. On the other hand, the greatest contrast to the Calvinist is shown in the typical Unitarian, who has a strong dislike of theological dogma, who regards a clearly defined theological opinion as being not essential for the religious life, and who has outgrown the controversial stage in his religious development. The dogmatic spirit of the Calvinist and his tendency towards argumentation and dissension will remind us, at once, of the mental attitude of a boy. On the other hand, the strong dislike of dogma as well as of controversy on the part of the typical Unitarian shows us the spirit of a mature man.

The Methodists and the Baptists stand between these two extremes, the typical Methodist being neither dogmatic nor controversial because his main interest lies in the conversion of souls, and the Baptists not requiring submission to a creed because the distinctive principles for which the Baptists stand lie outside of the field of theological doctrine.

12. Religious Liberty.

With regard to religious liberty we find the greatest contrast between the Calvinists and the Baptists. Calvinism is intolerant in principle, while the Baptists are advocates of absolute liberty of conscience.

The intolerant spirit of the Calvinist will remind us, again, of the mental attitude of a boy. On the other hand, the fact that the Baptists are advocates of absolute liberty of conscience shows that they possess the liberty-loving spirit of young manhood.

13. Authority.

With regard to the question of authority we have found that Calvinism stands for a strict discipline on the part of men in authority, that submission to authority is a leading characteristic of Methodism, that the Baptists are ardent advocates of the principle of democracy, and that the Unitarian appeal to reason and conscience implies the supremacy of the individual conscience.

In other words, the part which authority plays becomes less and less as we proceed from the Calvinists and the Methodists to the Baptists, and, finally, to the Unitarians. Among Calvinists the man in authority is an autocrat; he treats those below him as a strict schoolmaster treats children. Among Methodists the men in authority demand submission to their authority; but they are less severe than Calvinistic leaders. Among the democratic Baptists it is the will of the majority that rules in the church; they, thereby, show again that they possess the liberty-loving spirit of young manhood. The Unitarian, finally, does not recognize any authority above himself in matters of religion; he, thereby, shows the individualism of mature manhood.

14. Civil Liberty.

With regard to civil liberty we find the greatest contrast between the Calvinists and the Baptists, just as we did with regard to religious liberty. The Baptists stand out prominently as defenders of civil liberty. On the other hand, Calvinism, while originally abridging the liberty of the individual unduly, leads, indirectly, to civil liberty.

The love of civil liberty on the part of the Baptists shows again, that they possess the spirit of young manhood.

15. Activity.

With regard to their respective activity we find the greatest contrast between the Methodist and the Unitarian. The typical Methodist is distinguished by his zeal for the conversion of individual souls as well as by a certain directness in his appeals to the unconverted, while the typical Unitarian is characterized by an active interest in political and social reform.

The whole interest of the typical Methodist is individual: the conversion of souls. On the other hand, the main interest of the typical Unitarian is social: the reform of society. The absorbing interest of the Methodist in conversion shows that Methodism is a religion for young people, while the great interest of the Unitarian in political and social reform shows that Unitarianism is a religion of mature manhood. The active interest of the Unitarian in the reform of society also shows that the Unitarian is in harmony with the spirit of our time.

16. Emotion.

With regard to emotion we find the greatest contrast between the Calvinist and the Unitarian, on the one hand, and the Methodist, on the other hand. While both the Calvinist and the Unitarian are lacking in emotion, the Methodist, on the other hand, is emotional. This may be seen from the peculiar fervency and the religious enthusiasm of the Methodists, especially from their singular fervor in praying and their enthusiastic singing of hymns, but also from their revivals and camp-meetings and from the fact that Methodism has always strongly appealed to women as well as to the negroes of America.

Methodism has always strongly appealed both to people of an emotional type of temperament and to people of an emotional age, that is, to women as well as to negroes, on the one hand, and to young people, on the other hand.

17. Form of Piety.

With regard to the form of piety of each of the four kinds of Protestants under consideration we have found that the Calvinistic form of piety was severe and intellectual; that the Methodist form of piety was pietistic; that the typical Baptist evidently is enthusiastic, and even visionary; and that the typical Unitarian seems to be lacking in the religious life.

The Calvinistic severity and intellectuality is that of the disciplinarian and the teacher of boys and girls; the pietism of the Methodist is that of young people who are deeply concerned in the saving of their own souls; the religious enthusiasm and the visionariness of the Baptist are characteristic of young manhood; and the lack in the religious life of the Unitarian is that of one-sidedly intellectual people in middle life.

18. Social Classes.

With regard to the different social classes which each of the four kinds of Protestants under consideration reaches, we have found that, while Calvinism sought to embrace the whole population of a state within the scope of its influence, it actually reached the higher class primarily; that the early converts to Methodism were mainly members of the lower classes; that the typical Anabaptist as well as the typical Baptist of the time of the Great Awakening came from the lower classes, while to-day the Baptists, as a denomination, have a firm hold on the middle classes of the population of America; and that Unitarianism appeals most strongly to people of culture.

The fact that Calvinism sought to embrace the whole population of a state within the scope of its influence, but that it actually reached the higher class primarily, will remind us of the public educator who endeavors to bring all the children within the scope of his influence, but who, at first at least, actually reaches the children of the higher class primarily. That the early converts to Methodism were mainly members of the lower classes will seem but natural to us if we consider that the lower classes are more emotional than the higher class, and that they are more exposed to temptation, and, therefore, more apt to listen to the Methodist call for conversion. On the other hamd, the fact that Unitarianism has always strongly appealed to people of culture will seem natural if we remember that it appeals to reason, and emphasizes independence of thought.

19. Education.

With regard to education we have found that Calvinism has set up a high standard of education for both its ministers and its laity; that the early converts to Methodism were mainly uneducated people; that the typical Anabaptist as well as the typical Baptist of the time of the Great Awakening came from the uneducated classes; and that Uni-

tarianism appeals most strongly to people of culture, to which may be added a tendency towards literature as another Unitarian characteristic.

The fact that Calvinism has set up a high standard of education for both its ministers and its laity will suggest to us that the typical Calvinist is a teacher. The fact that the early converts to Methodism were mainly uneducated people will remind us that the typical Methodist is an evangelist who does not care for education, but who is completely absorbed in the work of the conversion and the saving of souls. The Baptists formerly did not care for education because the typical Baptist is an enthusiast, and the true Baptist preacher is an inspirer. Finally, the fact that Unitarianism appeals most strongly to people of culture and of literary taste will suggest to us the thought that the typical Unitarian preacher is a cultivated lecturer.

20. Attitude towards Science.

In their respective attitude towards science we find the greatest contrast between the Calvinist and the Methodist, on the one hand, and the Unitarian, on the other hand. While the typical Calvinist is opposed to scientific investigation, and while early Methodism was not interested in science, the typical Unitarian, on the other hand, is distinguished by his friendliness towards science.

The friendliness of Unitarianism towards science shows that the Unitarian is in harmony with the spirit of our time.

21. Attitude towards the Bible.

In their respective attitude towards the Bible we find the greatest contrast between the Calvinist and the Baptist, on the one hand, and the Unitarian, on the other hand. While the typical Calvinist professes the doctrine of the supremacy and the sufficiency of the Bible as the only norm of faith and of practice, and while the typical Baptist is distinguished by a peculiar literalness in his interpretation of the New Testament, the typical Unitarian, on the other hand, is a rationalist.

The attitude of the Calvinist towards the Bible is dogmatic, and will remind us of the mental attitude of a boy. The peculiar literalness which distinguishes the Baptist in his interpretation of the New Testament as well as his logical consistency, which is one main cause

of that literalness, are characteristics which we can often find in young manhood. Finally, the independence of the Unitarian towards the Bible as well as his rationalism, his appeal to reason, show that the typical Unitarian must be a mature man.

22. Baptism.

With regard to baptism we find the greatest contrast between the Calvininist and the Methodist, on the one hand, and the Baptist, on the other hand. While Calvinism retained the baptism of infants, and while Wesley, through the stress which he put on conversion, unintentionally lessened the importance of baptism, the Baptists, on the other hand, reject infant baptism, practice what they call "believers' baptism", and regard immersion as the only Scriptural mode of baptism.

The fact that Calvinism retained the baptism of infants, that Wesley, through the stress which he put on conversion, unintentionally lessened the importance of baptism, and that the Baptists reject infant baptism shows that the importance which the rite of infant baptism plays becomes less and less as we proceed from the Calvinists to the Methodists and, finally, to the Baptists. Furthermore, the fact that the Baptists baptize adult believers only, or, at the most, adolescents who have experienced the "new birth", shows that the Baptists cannot address themselves to any younger persons than adolescents.

23. Temperance.

With regard to temperance we have found that, among the four kinds of Protestants under consideration, it was the Methodist who distinguished himself. The early American Methodist was very temperate, and was generally a total abstainer from all intoxicating liquors.

It is very characteristic that it was early Methodism, whose principal object was the conversion and the saving of souls, which gave to Christianity the ideal of temperance, and even of total abstinence from all intoxicating liquors.

24. General Tendency.

With regard to what we may call their general tendency we find that the Calvinist, the Baptist, and the Unitarian represent three very

distinct types of mind. The typical Calvinist is conservative, the typical Baptist is a radical, and the typical Unitarian is progressive.

The conservatism of the Calvinist is characteristic of childhood, the radicalism of the Baptist is characteristic of young manhood, and the progressiveness of the Unitarian is characteristic of mature manhood.

25. Growth.

With regard to growth we find the greatest contrast between the Calvinist and the Unitarian. The typical Calvinist does not grow in his religious views, while the typical Unitarian continually grows.

The typical Calvinist, in this respect, presents the phenomenon of arrested development.

26. Type of Temperament.

With regard to their respective type of temperament we have found that the typical Calvinist is severe and intellectual, that the typical Methodist is emotional, that the typical Baptist is enthusiastic and even visionary, and that the typical Unitarian is unemotional.

Each of the four kinds of Protestants under consideration thus shows a distinct type of temperament. When each of the four religious movements was young, Calvinism naturally attracted people of a severe and intellectual temperament; Methodism, people of an emotional temperament; the Baptists, people of an enthusiastic and visionary temperament; and Unitarianism, people of an unemotional temperament.

27. Age.

1. Childhood. The typical Calvinist, looked upon from a psychological standpoint, is, in many respects, a child, or rather a boy. I say this with all due respect to our Calvinistic ancestors. The dogmatic spirit of the Calvinist, his tendency towards argumentation and dissension, as well as his intolerance will remind us of the mental attitude of a boy. The important part which the element of fear plays in Calvin's religion shows that Calvinism is an expression of the religion of childhood. The conservatism of the Calvinist is, likewise, characteristic of childhood.

Again, I speak with due respect to our Calvinistic ancestors when I say that the typical Calvinist even presents the phenomenon of ar-

rested development. It is true, he has a good education, he is intellectual and logical. But he lacks independence of thought. He employs his intellect inside of the confines of traditional Christian doctrine. He is opposed to scientific investigation. He does not grow in his religious views.

The typical Calvinist stands for a strenuous moral discipline in the daily life. He has been strictly trained in habits of orderliness, moral correctness, reverence and obedience to authority, as well as in self-respect, personal responsibility, and conscientiousness. He has received the best ethical training which any child can receive. Indeed, we may be thankful, if we received that Calvinistic training in our childhood, and may be still more thankful, if, by way of heredity, the ethical strenuousness of Calvinistic ancestors has worked itself into the very fibre of our own character.

Let me suggest here that the lack of emotion of the Calvinist is that of the child, or rather of the boy, who has not yet reached the emotional age of adolescence.

2. Adolescence. The typical Methodist is an adolescent, a youth. Methodism appeals most strongly to young people, that is, to people of an emotional age. It is young people especially that are strongly conscious of their inward moral struggle against temptation and sin, and that are deeply concerned in the vital problem of saving their own souls from sin. On the other hand, the principal object of Methodism is the conversion of souls, that is, the bringing about of a change of heart in those who are under conviction of sin, as the phrase is. It is, therefore, young people especially that will listen to the Methodist call for conversion.

As a matter of fact, conversion is pre-eminently a phenomenon of the religious life of adolescence. It is true, many cases are recorded of the conversion of children, on the one hand, and of that of people in middle life, on the other hand. But the experience of conversion belongs primarily to young people. In the biographies of prominent Methodists we read again and again that they were converted at the age of 16 or thereabout. Thus Francis Asbury fell under deep conviction when a youth, and began to preach at the age of 16. Joseph Pilmoor and Oliver Hoyt were converted at 16. Again, we read of Jesse Lee that youths generally found him irresistible. When conversion occurs to a man in middle life, it usually involves a greater disturbance of the man's mental and moral life.

Again, the Methodist religion, as a religion of trust and of love, is an expression of the religion of young people who have had the experience of conversion. The cheerful and hopeful character of Methodist preaching is peculiarly adapted to the needs of young people. When Methodism conditions membership in Methodist societies on a real desire to save one's soul from sin, it seems to be addressing itself primarily to young people. The pietism of the Methodist is that of young people who are deeply concerned in the saving of their own souls. It is also very characteristic that it was early Methodism, whose principal object was the conversion and the saving of souls, which gave to Christianity the ideal of temperance, and even of total abstinence from all intoxicating liquors.

Young people whose main interest lies in the saving of their own souls will, like the typical Methodist, be neither dogmatic nor controversial. If properly treated, they will, like the Methodist, willingly submit to authority. Again, like the Methodist, they are prone to let out their emotion in fervent prayers and in enthusiastic singing.

Not only is the typical Methodist a youth, but the Methodist spirit of child-like trust and of hopefulness, of cheerfulness and of optimism, makes the Methodist remain a youth in spirit all his life. We thus read that Wesley, in his 82d year, was still a youth, both in mind and in body. Indeed, we may be thankful, if we, in our youth, experienced that change of heart at which Methodism aims, and may be still more thankful if we are able to preserve in our heart the Methodist spirit throughout life.

3. Young manhood. The typical Baptist is a young man. He is older than the typical Methodist. While the principal object of Methodism is the conversion of souls, the most fundamental principle of the Baptists is their demand for an exclusively regenerate church-membership. While Methodism aims at bringing about a change of heart in people, the Baptists set up separate churches of the regenerate, that is, of individuals who are assured of their conversion. In other words, a Baptist church presupposes that its members have passed through that stage of religious development which is occupied by the typical Methodist. We may, therefore, say that the typical Baptist is older than the typical Methodist.

No child can ever be a real Baptist. The Baptists practice what they call "believers' baptism", that is the baptism of adult believers.

They, thereby, restrict the rite of baptism as well as church-membership to believers of adult years. The phrase "adult believers" ought not to be taken too literally, however. For the Baptists do baptize adolescents, too, young people who have experienced the "new birth". In this respect, it does not appear that the Baptist needs to be older than the typical Methodist. But we shall immediately see that the typical Baptist is actually older than the typical Methodist, that he is not merely a youth, but a young man.

The typical Baptist is an enthusiast and an idealist, and may even be called a visionary. In this respect he exhibits characteristics which are typical of young manhood, it seems to me. He is a lover of liberty, both of religious liberty and of civil liberty. He is an ardent advocate of the principle of democracy. He is a radical in his general tendency. In all of these respects he shows the characteristics of young manhood. The associations of the Baptists are voluntary, as organizations of young men naturally are.

The typical Baptist profoundly believes in certain distinctive principles for which he stands, and, in carrying out these principles, is logically consistent, without any regard to the consequences, and uncompromising. This is another characteristic which we can often find in young manhood. The typical Baptist is, finally, distinguished by a peculiar literalness in his interpretation of the New Testament. Such a peculiar literalness is still another characteristic which can often be found in young manhood, and that for the reason that an independent, mature judgment had not yet developed.

It is true, every normal young man passes through a period of storm and stress. But the storm and stress of the typical Baptist is consecrated by religion. He is not merely an enthusiast, a lover of liberty, and a radical, but he is a regenerate young man. He has experienced that change of heart for which Methodism stands. But he has outgrown, in his religious development, the stage of private and individual devoutness of the Methodist. He is a young man who faces life and the world. He is an idealist, and may be called a Christian socialist. He would like to see men free, and is looking forward to the establishment of the kingdom of God, of a reign of righteousness, of an ideal human society. But he is still immature, and may, not unjustly, be called a visionary.

Yet, this spirit of regenerate and consecrated young manhood,

which is characteristic of the typical Baptist, is the noblest spirit which any young man can have. Moreover, this enthusiastic, idealistic, liberty-loving, and altruistic Baptist spirit ought to remain with us through the maturer years of our life, both for our own sake and for the sake of others. Indeed, we may be thankful, if we, as young men, received this spirit of regenerate and consecrated young manhood which is characteristic of the typical Baptist, and may be still more thankful, if we succeed in preserving this enthusiastic, idealistic, liberty-loving, and altruistic Baptist spirit through the maturer years of our life.

4. Mature manhood. The typical Unitarian is a mature man. Since Unitarianism is an appeal to reason and conscience, it follows that Unitarianism can address itself only to people in whom both reason and the individual conscience have fully developed, that is, to mature people only. The independence of thought as well as the tendency towards rationalism of the Unitarian show that the typical Unitarian must be a mature man. The fact that the Unitarian does not recognize any authority above himself in matters of religion, again, shows us the individualism of mature manhood. His strong dislike of dogma as well as of controversy, again, shows us the spirit of a mature man. He has outgrown, in his religious development, the controversial stage at which the Calvinist stops. The typical Unitarian continually grows in his religious views. He is neither conservative, like a child, nor radical, like a young man, but he is progressive, like the best type of a mature man. It is in harmony with his progressiveness, and is but natural for a mature man of a strongly individualistic tendency, that he thoroughly dislikes anything like denominational machinery for sectarian propaganda.

But the typical Unitarian is lacking in emotion, and seems to be lacking in the religious life. This lack of emotion and this apparent lack in the religious life of the Unitarian cannot be that of the child or of the boy, but must be that of one-sidedly intellectual people in middle life. This follows clearly from the general characteristics of the Unitarian.

The stress which Unitarianism puts on the finer ethics, again, shows that Unitarianism can address itself only to mature people. Even the fact that the Unitarian disregards sin, more or less, will appear natural to us on the supposition that he addresses himself to mature people,

who have forgotten the time of their inward moral struggle against temptation and sin.

Finally, the great interest of the typical Unitarian in political and social reform, as well as his appreciation of science, show that he must be a mature man.

As a matter of fact, Unitarianism appeals most strongly to mature men. Unitarianism is not a religion for children, or for young people, but a religion for mature men. Indeed, many men have become Unitarians in mature life. Some of these men became influential leaders among the Unitarians of America. Most of the founders and of the early leaders of the Unitarian movement, both in Europe and in America, took the step which made them Unitarians somewhere between the age of 35 and the age of 50. This is true of Faustus Socinus, Francis David, Theophilus Lindsay, Thomas Belsham, as well as of Channing. The latter was a man of 39 when he preached his famous Baltimore sermon.

Even Unitarian writers admit that the Unitarian movement has largely lacked the power of self-propagation. In other words, the children of Unitarians often do not become members of Unitarian churches. This fact, apparently, is correctly explained by the suggestion that the Unitarian attitude of mind is foreign to the average young person. It is true, some young people have this Unitarian attitude of mind. But they are the exceptions. They may be justly described as being precocious. As the Calvinistic attitude of mind in a man in middle life is a sign of arrested development, so the Unitarian attitude of mind in a young person is a sign of precocity, it seems to me, if it should last for any length of time.

Some of the Unitarian characteristics are not only very desirable qualities to have for a mature man, but they are qualities which, in the natural course of development, ought to have developed in a mature man, it seems to me. Such are the independence of thought of the Unitarian, his individual conscience, his dislike of the dogmatic attitude of mind as well as of controversy, his progressiveness instead of either the conservatism of arrested development or the radicalism of young manhood, his strong ethical sense, his interest in political and social reform, and his appreciation of science. On the other hand, others of the reputed characteristics of the typical Unitarian would be very regrettable qualities to have for a man in middle life.

Such are lack of emotion, one-sided intellectuality, lack in the religious life, and disregard of sin. These latter qualities will never exist in a man in middle life, it seems to me, if he, in his youth, experienced that change of heart for which Methodism stands, and then, as a young man, consecrated his young manhood to the ideals of liberty and of altruism, as does the typical Baptist. But the typical Unitarian is a person who has passed directly from the intellectual and unemotional Calvinistic attitude of mind to the very different, but, likewise, intellectual and unemotional Unitarian attitude of mind. He has never had the religious experience of the Methodist, and has never felt the religious enthusiasm of the typical Baptist. But if we, in our youth, experienced that change of heart at which Methodism aims, and then, as young men, consecrated our young manhood to the ideals of liberty and of altruism, as does the typical Baptist, it will then be, not only entirely natural, but very desirable for us to develop, in our mature manhood, all those better qualities for which Unitarianism stands.

28. Sex.

1. Boys and girls. The typical Calvinist, looked upon from a psychological standpoint, is a child; but, perhaps, a boy rather than a girl. The strict ethical training which he has received is peculiarly adapted for the training of children. But the dogmatic spirit of the Calvinist, his tendency towards argumentation and dissension, as well as his intolerance, are, probably, more typical of a boy than of a girl.

2. Women. The typical Methodist is a woman rather than a man. Methodism has always strongly appealed to women. While the spirit of Methodism, during the emotional age of adolescence, strongly appeals to both sexes, it yet appeals more strongly to girls than to boys, to women than to men. The Methodist spirit, probably, will always remain the best expression of the religion of woman.

3. Young men. The typical Baptist is a young man. All the characteristics which the typical Baptist shows are typical of young manhood.

4. Mature men. The typical Unitarian is a mature man. He is a man rather than a woman, it seems to me. Both, the desirable qualities and the undesirable qualities, of the typical Unitarian are more typical of the mental attitude of men than of women. This is certainly true, on the one hand, of the independence of thought, the progres-

siveness, the interest in political and social reform, and the appreciation of science of the typical Unitarian, and, on the other hand, of his lack of emotion, his rationalism, and his lack in the religious life. It almost seems as if an interest in social reform and in science occupies the same place in the life of a mature man which the religious life occupies in the life of the typical woman.

29. Stage of Religious Development.

1. Theocracy. The first stage in the religious evolution of the American people was the period of Calvinism. This period was distinguished by the spirit of the Hebrew theocracy. The fact that the idea of the sovereignty of God was the pervading principle of Calvin's theology, and that the fear of God was the centre of his religious life, shows that there was a large infusion of the Old Testament spirit in Calvin's religion. The Old Testament was studied by the early Calvinists with an absorbing interest. New Haven Colony even adopted the laws of Moses as its civil code.

2. Pietism. The second stage in the religious evolution of America was the period of Methodism. This period began with the Great Awakening of 1734. Dr. Thompson justly interprets the meaning of the Great Awakening when he says that it "terminated the Puritan, and inaugurated the Pietist, or Methodist, age of American Church history". This period was one of pietism and of introspection. "The energy of attention was concentrated upon the succession of inward emotions and feelings", as Dr. Thompson puts it. The main current of the religious life of America flowed in this new channel. That spirit of the Great Awakening, which was but the spirit of Methodism, may still be traced in the modern religious life of America to some extent.

3. Love of liberty. The third stage in the religious evolution of America has been a Baptist period, I venture to assert. It is generally maintained that the second part of the 18th century was a time of spiritual lethargy in America, that men were not interested then in religion, but that political affairs, the War of the Revolution, absorbed their thoughts. But may we not say that the same religious spirit which, in 1734 and the following years, had found its expression in religious pietism, was finding its expression, at the time of the War of the Revolution, in an ardent patriotism, in love of liberty? The

patriotism and the love of liberty of many men of that time undoubtedly had the nature of a religious enthusiasm. Among these it was the Baptists, in particular, who were distinguished by their firm, consistent, and persevering patriotism.

The thought which I desire to emphasize is that the American people, beginning with the War of the Revolution, and throughout the 19th century, have been exhibiting the spirit of the typical Baptist. They have been lovers of liberty, both of religious liberty and of civil liberty. They have been upholders of the Baptist principle of the complete separation of church and state. They have been ardent advocates of the principle of democracy, like the typical Baptist. This period has been distinguished by a love of liberty.

But even the other Baptist principles have made great progress within the last century among the American people, and have achieved signal victories. Thus candidates for baptism usually have the choice now between immersion and sprinkling in evangelical denominations. Indeed, the American Protestants of to-day are practically Baptists in many respects. In so far as we maintain the old New England demand for a regenerate church-membership, we are Baptists. If we do not have our children baptized as infants, and hold that baptism, if at all, should be administered to adult persons only, and that after their conversion and as an act symbolizing the "new birth", we are essentially Baptists. We are such even if, for considerations of expediency, we do not practice immersion.

4. Social reform and science. The fourth stage in the religious evolution of America is going to be a Unitarian period, I venture to predict. The interest in doctrinal questions has greatly subsided, and other questions have come to the foreground, particularly that of practical ethics. The present time, on the ideal side of life, is especially interested in two things, it seems to me: in science and in political and social reform. On the other hand, the typical Unitarian is distinguished by his strong dislike of dogma and by the stress which he puts on ethics. He is especially interested in two things: in political and social reform and in science. It, therefore, follows that the typical Unitarian, in so far as he is especially interested in social reform and in science, exhibits the spirit of the present time. This interest in social reform and in science occupies the same place in the life of the modern man which the thought of the rule of God

upon earth, pietism, and love of liberty, successively, occupied in the lives of the men and the women of former periods. As this interest is characteristic of the typical Unitarian, we may call the present time the Unitarian period of religious evolution. This designation does not imply the claim of an impending general acceptance of Unitarian theological opinions, however.

In so far as their historic origin is concerned, both the Unitarians of England and the Unitarians of America, as denominations, came mainly out of the Calvinists, in England a majority of the Presbyterian churches becoming Unitarian during the 18th century, and in America the Unitarians branching off from the Congregationalists of New England at the beginning of the 19th century. This looks as if, historically, Unitarianism was the next stage, not after a Baptist stage, but after the Calvinist stage. But many of the Unitarian churches of England have come out of the English General Baptists. Above everything else, if we go back far enough in history, we shall find that the germs of modern Unitarianism seem to have sprung up in the communities of Anabaptists of the 16th century.

We thus see that the American Protestants have successively passed through the following four stages of religious evolution: first, that of Calvinism or of theocratic discipline; secondly, that of Methodism or of pietistic individualism; thirdly, the Baptist stage, or that of love of liberty; and fourthly, the Unitarian stage, or that of interest in social reform and in science. On the other hand, we have already seen that Calvinism, with its strict moral discipline, is peculiarly adapted for the training of children; that Methodism, with its pietistic individualism, appeals most strongly to young people; that the typical Baptist, with his religious enthusiasm and his love of liberty, exhibits many characteristics which are typical of young manhood; and that Unitarianism, with its interest in social reform and in science, appeals most strongly to mature men. We conclude, therefore, that the individual, who, in his childhood, received that strict ethical training for which Calvinism stands; who, in his youth, experienced that change of heart at which Methodism aims; who, as a young man, consecrated his young manhood to the ideals of liberty and of altruism, as does the typical Baptist; and who, as a mature man, develops that interest in social reform and in science which is characteristic of the typical Unitarian,—that such an individual is successively passing through

the same four stages in his religious development through which the American people have successively passed, and that he is thus repeating the history of his race.

Indeed, we ought to pass successively, in our religious development, through all of these four stages. We cannot afford missing a single one of them. If we, in our childhood, do not receive that strict ethical training for which Calvinism stands, we are liable not to develop strength of character; if we, in our youth, do not experience that change of heart at which Methodism aims, we shall be lacking in spirituality; if we then, as young men, do not consecrate our young manhood to the ideals of liberty and of altruism, as does the typical Baptist, we shall be lacking in religious enthusiasm; if we, finally, in middle life, do not develop that interest in social reform and that scientific attitude of mind which are characteristic of the typical Unitarian, we shall remain immature.

30. Work of the Preacher.

1. Disciplinarian and teacher. The typical Calvinist preacher is a disciplinarian and a teacher. The severe and didactic tone of Calvinistic preaching is that of the disciplinarian and the teacher who addresses himself to children. Since the Calvinist stands for a strenuous moral discipline in the daily life, he is peculiarly fitted for training children.

2. Evangelist and spiritual physician. The typical Methodist preacher is an evangelist, who is completely absorbed in the work of the conversion and the saving of souls. He is neither dogmatic nor controversial because his main interest lies in the conversion of souls. He is sometimes called like a physician, or a midwife, as it were, to help people through their spiritual birth into a new life. The cheerful and hopeful character of Methodist preaching is peculiarly fitted for one who addresses himself to young people. The Methodist preacher reaches young people especially. He also appeals strongly to women.

3. Inspirer. The typical Baptist preacher is an inspirer. He is, therefore, peculiarly fitted to address himself to young men.

4. Lecturer and social reformer. The typical Unitarian preacher is a cultivated lecturer and a social reformer. He addresses himself to people of culture and of literary taste. He appeals most strongly to mature men interested in social reform and in science.

The Calvinist preacher, the Methodist preacher, the Baptist preacher, and the Unitarian preacher, each does a different kind of work, and each works among a different kind of people. Yet the work which each of them does is work that needs to be done. Children need to be trained by a disciplinarian and a teacher of the spirit of the Calvinist preacher; young people need to come under the influence of an evangelist and a spiritual physician of the spirit of the Methodist preacher, and women, apparently, do best to remain under that influence all their life; young men need to come under the influence of an inspirer of the spirit of the true Baptist preacher; and men in middle life need to come under the influence of a lecturer and a social reformer of the spirit of the Unitarian preacher. But it is not probable that the Calvinist churches will willingly confine themselves to giving a strict ethical training to children; that the Methodist churches will willingly confine themselves to the bringing about of a change of heart in young people and to work among women; that the Baptist churches will willingly confine themselves to inspiring young men with religious enthusiasm and with love of liberty; and that the Unitarian churches will willingly confine themselves to cultivating an interest in social reform and in science in men in middle life. Yet, on the other hand, it is possible that one and the same Church might do all the work which is being done separately by the typical Calvinist preacher, the typical Methodist preacher, the typical Baptist preacher, and the typical Unitarian preacher. The local churches of such an inclusive Protestant Church would have to employ, at least, four kinds of preachers: one, who is a disciplinarian and a teacher, who will do the work of the Calvinist preacher, and who will devote himself to the ethical training of children; a second one, who is an evangelist and a spiritual physician, who will do the work of the Methodist preacher, and who will devote himself to the bringing about of a change of heart in young people and to work among women (possibly, in addition to this one a woman who will do this work among girls and young women exclusively); a third one, who is an inspirer, who will do the work of the true Baptist preacher, and who will devote himself to inspiring young men with religious enthusiasm and with love of liberty; and a fourth one, who is a lecturer and a social reformer, who will do the work of the Unitarian preacher, and who will devote himself to cultivating an interest in social reform and in science in men in middle life.

Such a broad Church, which would do all this work, which would meet the needs of all ages, of all stages of religious development, and of both sexes, might become the national Protestant Church of America. To my mind, among all the Protestant denominations of America the one which, through its past history, would be best prepared to do this various work, to sympathize with these various needs, and to become the American national Protestant Church, would be the Congregational Church. It has always stood for that strict ethical training of children which is characteristic of Calvinism; at the time of the Great Awakening, through the influence of George Whitefield and Jonathan Edwards, it became an evangelical church, that is to say, it adopted the spirit of Methodism; it made the Anabaptist demand for a church-membership giving "creditible evidence" of regeneration as early as at the time of the first settlers of New England, and has always stood for the democratic Anabaptist principle of the autonomy of the congregation; it, finally, once included the Unitarians of New England as one of its two wings. Once it was a state-church. In the future it might still become the national Protestant Church of America. But there is a great difference between a state-church and a free national Church. While many American Protestants would undoubtedly favor the idea of a national Protestant Church, all true Americans now cherish the Baptist principle of the complete separation of church and state, and are opposed to a state-church.

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MY INNER LIFE.

By LUCY C. BARTLETT.

I commence this account without any knowledge whether what I write will ever see the light—will ever be of any use to any one. But I have just been reading that book of Professor James—"The Varieties of Religious Experience," and some words of his have moved me to the writing. "Who knows whether the faithfulness of individuals here below to their own poor over-beliefs may not actually help God in turn to be more effectively faithful to his own greater tasks?" he writes—and I, as I read these words, knew that I must at least offer the contribution of my experience.

And I think I have always known that some day I must make such offer—must try to tell my inner story. But there have been difficulties, and I have postponed. Now I can postpone no longer, for those words rang to me to-day as a summons and a reproach.

I must go very far back, if I am to begin from the beginning, for though externally I had no religious life as a child, I know that even then I had a very strong sense of God. My home life was peculiar, and though my father was a deeply spiritual man, there were reasons why religious instruction could play no part in my life. There was his spiritual influence always, which as I grew older I was able to appreciate. But of actual instruction there was none, and though I was taken to church, I know that had no influence—it meant nothing to me, and I disliked it. So much that when at nineteen I went to college, and became my own mistress, my church-going ended. And though there was a period a few years later when I cared for a different church, and attended it for a time with a sense of happiness and support, even that only lasted two years. Church-going has never meant much in my life, and never can, I think. The early training may have had something to do with it, but I think my own nature had more.

But what I wish to tell of those early years is that I had a peculiarly strong sense of God's reality, although I had no love for Him, and no liking for any religious practices. I remember curious compacts that I used to make with God as a child. Once when I was

eleven years old I remember losing a ring, for which I feared I should be badly scolded. I remember distinctly kneeling down and telling God that if He would let me find that ring, I would give up some naughtiness I had intended. I found the ring, and abandoned that particular piece of naughtiness. And there was no doubt whatever in my mind that God and I had understood each other. This incident, and I think there were many others like it, if I could remember them, illustrates exactly my inner attitude throughout childhood and youth, I did not love God, and I had no sense that He loved me. I was not very happy, and I knew I was not very good, nor did I wish to be. I had a certain resentment towards the Power which I felt ruling life, and ruling it, as I thought, unjustly. I did not wish to please that Power. I never remember being afraid of punishment, and any good there was in me at this time I think was due to a sense of personal dignity. Certain things were distasteful to me—I refrained from them for that reason, not from any consideration of their ethical bearings. This, I think, tells my attitude quite truly up to the time I was nearly twenty-three. But throughout all these years, despite my refusal to put myself in line with it, there was this strong sense of a Power which did guide life, and with which one *could* put oneself into relation, if one chose.

And this belief, enduring through childhood into youth, led to the first experience which deeply affected my life. In the spring that I was twenty-two I made another compact with God, little differing from the eleven-year-old one which I have recounted.

It was in April, I think, of that year, 1898, that I made this compact. I had been suffering great physical pain which was getting beyond my endurance, and I remember perfectly the day when I told God that if He would take that pain away, I would try to be a better girl. I remember the unwillingness with which I made this offer, for my inward bitterness, and sense of injustice, had been greatly increasing during the previous months. I did not kneel down as I made the proposal—it was something wrung from overtaxed strength—flung without reverence to that Power I almost hated, but yet felt. And who knows where such cries do penetrate, and what they effect? My idea of 'God' is perhaps something greater, and less crude to-day than when I made this bargain. But I doubt no more to-day than then, that I was heard—and that every such tense gathering and out-

sending of a soul *is* heard, and through such agency as it reaches, wins response.

To me there came relief, almost immediate and complete. Within four months an operation which should have been performed many years before, had been decided on, and carried through, and I was free from pain. But it was something much greater than physical relief which the operation brought me.

Under the anæsthetic I had an experience which changed all my life—I went under the chloroform a desperate, rebellious little girl—I came out of it, a soul that understood. What I learned in that half hour I have never forgotten. The lessons have had to be beaten out in life—what came to me was only as a light which showed the way—the way still remained to be trodden. But what more do we ever ask than light enough to walk by? And if, at times, it reveal the goal as well in all its glory, then are we happy indeed.

What I was taught in that hour of liberated consciousness was the doctrine of reincarnation. I met my own Over-Soul that had lived the many lives, and told me of them. The little human self was given a glimpse of the whole great pattern. And all sense of injustice, and all rebellion, vanished in that vision, and through all the storms of life which have arisen since, that pain at least has never returned.

And so I count that the first great experience which set my feet on the path which leads to peace. The path has had to be trodden, as I said, without one stage omitted. But pain illumined is quite different to that which is blindly endured—it is pain sanctified, which is already half a glory.

Three weeks after this experience I told it to my greatest friend, and when I had finished my narration, she said, "That is Theosophy." This was the first I had ever heard of Theosophy, and I do not think I had ever met with the doctrine of reincarnation from other sources either. When my friend said this I began to read theosophical books, and parts of them affected me powerfully, linking with this experience I had had. One pamphlet by Mr. Sinnett, "The Path of Initiation," I remember particularly. I read it during a train journey, and my engrossment led to my being carried far past my destination. But despite much that fascinated me, I did not join the Theosophical Society at this time. And though I wrote down the experience I had had, not for two years would I allow it to be published, and then only

with initials for a signature. Is this comprehensible? I think to some it will be. It is possible for one's soul to know things so far beyond the grasp of one's human self, that the human self shrinks back from them—it cannot deny, but it dare not affirm—it fears untruth either way. That was my state for some years after this experience.

But I did that which is better for the reaching of reality than either talking or reading—I took my new beliefs into life with me, and tested their value there. Only four months after this experience I fell ill with what the doctors called nervous exhaustion, and I was put into a Nursing Home to undergo a rest cure. It was here that my inner life underwent its first great development.

I have said that in the experience under chloroform I lost my sense of injustice, and grasped the plan of life. That is true, but I had not yet realized the guiding force as one of love. That was what I now needed, and what came to me very early in my time in this Nursing Home. These experiences are almost impossible to describe—they can only be told by their results. For me the hour in that still, fire-lit room, when I felt the Divine Love *descending* on me, and wrapping me round, will stand out clear-cut in my memory always. For me it was revelation and baptism, but told in words, it might sound only emotionalism. It is subsequent life alone which can show to what category these things belong. So I do not seek to describe this experience, only mention that it took place. One little incident immediately following I may adduce in support of its reality. On the very day after, I think it was, I wrote a letter to somebody whom I had bitterly hated for more than a year past, and whom I had thought I never could forgive, and asked her instead to forgive me. There was no effort about it—things had simply assumed that different complexion. I had realized that incidents are always small, but hatred is the one great sin in the world, and love the one great truth.

This knowledge never left me in the months that followed, but my human self was suffering, and there were hours when it needed more than the general revelation. It needed definite assurances, and these came in strange ways.

I began to find I had the power at this time to get away partially at least from this world that was hurting me, and reach a place of peace, by just clinching my hands, and willing very hard. To get

out of my body—to get away from the world—was what I willed. My body at these times used to go into a state that the doctor called trance—it got quite cold and stiff, and the nurses used to be very frightened, and pack hot bottles round me. The state would last as long as two hours sometimes, and during this time they said my pulse was scarcely perceptible. That was what happened to my body. Meanwhile my soul was away gathering the strength it needed. Perhaps it was wrong of me to let those in charge of me be frightened, but it was only paid care which was round me at this time, and if I had let my nurses guess that I provoked these states, they would have found some way of stopping me. And I knew I was not really hurting myself by what I did—I was always braver and quieter after these times. And far from endangering my life, it was something which I gained during one of these states which tied me to earth life afresh.

For I had grown very weak—so weak that there was one day when I nearly passed away, and all knew it. They had ceased saying that I was not in danger. What puzzled them was that they could find no physical disease, but my weakness had reached that pitch when one can die of that alone, and so a big specialist had said, who had been called in.

And then this strange thing happened. In one of my trance states there seemed to be two wonderful eyes that looked at me. I can remember no face or figure, but just two wonderful eyes, that seemed to hold all the love and compassion of the world. And the owner of these eyes told me that He knew I was very tired — that He understood, and I might come away if I liked. But that if I would live a chance would be given me to help somebody I loved. It was this helped to hold me in the world at that time. What was promised seemed to human sight impossible, but I never doubted — one does not doubt what one receives like that. I came back to the world, and in due course the promise was fulfilled. And in the hour of fulfillment I understood — that this was what had been promised me in the trance — and it helped me to performance.

This brings me to the first of what I shall have to speak of hereafter as my "biddings" — the force which has sustained my inner life, and guided my outer, for over seven years now.

I was sitting by the sea when this first one came to me, and though no human soul was near, the command was as clear as though uttered

by a human voice. I was told to do a certain thing. And a great trembling seized me, for the thing was very difficult — one from which all my human self shrank back. Yet I knew even as the command came that I should have to do it. That is what always marks these commands — there may be a period in which the human self trembles, and seeks methods, but it knows from the instant of receiving it that the command must be obeyed.

I obeyed this one within two days of receiving it — so clear, so imperative had been the bidding. But it was as though my little human self looked on shivering at something that another person did. I knew quite well the thing would kill me if it were a mistake, or if it in any way went wrong. In the interim, while I waited to know the result, it seemed as if life stood still. Yet I felt detached from all responsibility. It was as if I addressed myself to a force beyond myself, saying, "You did this, now *you* take care of it."

And that Force did. I cannot tell these events in detail, which, perhaps, must rob them of all value for those who cannot trust my word. I can only give my word. In two days I knew the result of my action, and knew that it had been entirely right. The promise given in trance had been fulfilled — I had been allowed to help the friend regarding whom it had been given.

And this marked a turning point in my life as much as did the experience under chloroform, and the hour when I felt the Divine Love. The first experience had taught me life's plan — the second, life's motive power — since love alone can supply the unfailing motive power for living. But this third experience, when I dared to actuate this first command and found it justified, was, perhaps, fully as important as either of the preceding two, from the practical point of view at least, for it meant the rendering up of my outer life to this unseen force. Whenever such biddings have come to me since, in the seven odd years that have intervened, I have obeyed them, with a faith and ease ever increasing, and most of my life's chief events, and all its success, can be traced to this unseen guidance.

The biddings come in different ways, and with different degrees of clearness. Some, like that just cited, are so clear that there is never any strain of doubt — courage alone is needed for obedience. But others are less clear, and the difficulty of comprehension enters in.

In this second class the biddings do not seem so much like com-

mands received from a force outside oneself — a force which has the whole responsibility — but rather do they seem to rise within oneself, and partake more of the nature of a haunting and dominating idea. And they are not at all clear when first they come. Perhaps all one feels at first is a great restlessness, a knowledge that something is required, but what, one cannot tell. And this state may continue for a month, or longer, and means great strain. For always there is the knowledge that there is something which one *ought* to understand, which one is needed to understand, and one cannot. Then suddenly comprehension will come, perhaps, but still not perfectly. That is to say one will grasp what one has to do, but some part will still be missing, so that one still cannot see the way to actuation. And this is the time, perhaps, when the strain is worst. For once one knows what thing is wanted, the idea haunts and tortures one with a sense of neglected duty until it is translated into action. And yet, perhaps, for a time one cannot act — not from cowardice — but because until that missing part is found the action lacks that *complete harmony* which is necessary for obeying these biddings from the unseen world. Results are the criterion by which the outside person can judge the value of these things, but for those who are living through them and are required to deal with them before results can show, there is no other standard of judgment save that which exists in the inner sense of harmony and truth.

Yet biddings of both these kinds have given me my sense of Guidance through the past seven years. For by Guidance I mean simply the manifestation of a force higher than the human — a force which brings illumination, and produces actions beyond the power of our normal human self. And both kinds of biddings have produced these actions in me — those which have seemed to rise within me, and those which have seemed to come to me from without.

But there is still a third way in which I have felt Guidance, which has been perhaps even more precious to me than the biddings, and which greatly strengthens these biddings. It is found in what I call the "shaping of circumstance," or sometimes the "current." I can only illustrate my meaning in this by telling some facts from my outer life.

In the spring of 1902 I was undergoing, perhaps, the greatest pain and darkness of my life. I had lost my faith in God — or perhaps it

is more correct to say my sense of a personal relationship with God. And for three years this had been my whole strength under circumstances of unusual difficulty. Now the outer life continued to hold the same difficulties, and the inner strength which had sustained them was gone. I doubted everything — God and man. And in my extremity I sent forth another of my bitter cries, though this time I did not know if there were ears to hear it.

That was in April. In May I was induced by a friend to go and hear Mrs. Besant lecture. It is so strange to remember that I had to be induced, but so it was. But the instant I saw her, I knew many things. That in some strange way I had "come home," that her life and mine were blended, that hers was going to sweep mine on, I knew not where, but *on*. I knew these things and others so intensely that a trembling seized me such as made the woman who sat next me turn and stare at me. But beneath the trembling there was a mighty peace, a sense such as a tired rower might have, who as his boat shoots suddenly from stormy seas into smooth water, lays down his oars. A wonderful, wonderful sense of "coming home."

I clung to Mrs. Besant in the months that followed, as a drowning man clings to a spar. Or rather I clung to the thought of her, for I was a stranger, and could not at once approach her. But even the thought meant much — a great new force had entered my life — she began to dominate my imagination; the lethargy and despair began to break.

I was a free agent, and I decided I should follow her to India next winter, and take my chance of seeing more of her there. But this would have been a poor chance unassisted. And here the "shaping of circumstance" began to work.

I obtained Mrs. Besant's acquaintance in October by inviting myself to stop with great friends while she was stopping with them — for two days we were guests in the same house. But I had arranged to travel to India at this time with a lady who lived in Calcutta, a friend, almost a relation. But in these two days there came to me a telegram from her, telling me that she was indefinitely detained, and that I must not wait for her. Mrs. Besant heard our hostess speak of it and said that if I travelled alone, she would have me helped in Bombay. Her kindness gave me courage later, when I found my friend could really not be waited for, to change my passage to her boat. But that

was all I did. I still remember the telegram I sent to the P. & O. "Change my passage to boat leaving Brindisi 23d November." That was all. Perhaps a couple of weeks later I took my heavy luggage to the London office and asked to see my berths. "From Brindisi to Port Said, you are with a Mrs. Besant," I was told.

That was all—and to many of course I know it will seem mere coincidence. To me it did not. As I stood in that London office, and that clerk spoke those to him commonplace words, there shot into my darkness the first ray of light that had illumined it for a year past. Perhaps there was a God—who saw and heard.

"Perhaps"—that was what I sailed for India with. Cold comfort maybe, but ah, so much better than despair. Only those I think, who have known despair, know how to be fittingly grateful for one ray of hope.

With this ray I had to be content for many months, for greatly as I loved Mrs. Besant, and kind as she was to me in these months, she could not give me what my soul had lost, and what it starved for—the knowledge of God's intercourse with man.

The months passed by, marked for me with grim endurance—then I left Benares where she was, and went alone to Delhi. Just why I did this I cannot fully tell—a dim instinct that my battle must be fought alone—that only in the wilderness should I win through or die.

In this state did I reach Delhi some ten days after leaving Benares. The interim had been spent in somewhat lonely sight-seeing—I was doing my travelling in India alone, and I was young enough to make this unusual and difficult. I well remember the night I arrived at Lucknow—weary and ill with a heavy cold, to find the large comfortless hotel full to overflowing with questionable people congregated there for the Race week. My resistance almost broke that night. I sat in my room after dinner fighting an almost intolerable longing to flee to Bombay, and take the next ship for home. But I conquered the mood, as during the summer I had pushed past each obstacle that would have prevented my coming. In some indefinable way India and Mrs. Besant had spelt "hope" in those dark months. Now on this night when I sat struggling with my loneliness at Lucknow, I had said good-bye to Mrs. Besant. But some other thread seemed still to hold — there was a dim sense of purpose in my being there — a faint, faint sense that I had been brought. And faint as it was, this sense meant

more than human pain. I could not relinquish it — I set my teeth, and continued on my travels.

So I reached Delhi. And there a letter reached me from the companion of a sick girl whom I had helped to nurse in Benares. It told me she was worse, perhaps in danger, but the letter did not move me specially. There is a stage of pain when we lose our power of compassion, as we seem to lose our power of all feeling. We may still act compassionately, but it is all mechanical. It was so I had helped to nurse this poor girl in Benares — giving what I could, but not feeling anything. So the letter did not move me specially. The girl was rich, and I knew had every care around her. I did not feel there was anything I could do. She was only a travelling acquaintance, and though she had clung to me rather pitifully whilst we were together in Benares, I think I lacked faith at this time in the depth and reality of all things. I always tried to belittle everything — feeling bitterly I think, that the depth of my pain was due to having believed too much in the past. For I had trusted God, and His guidance, even to the sacrifice of all things — and it was seeming that I had trusted in a myth.

So I put the letter away without thought of doing anything, and went about my day's sight-seeing as usual. During the day my servant came to me and told me that his father was ill, and that he must go back to Benares at once. It was annoying to be left without a servant, but still I told him he could go, and my own plans remained unchanged — I was going on to Lahore and Amritsar. And at half past nine that evening I sat in my room writing letters, with my things all unpacked, and spread about — for I was expecting to remain a week in Delhi.

And then it came — the voice I had not heard for so many long and weary months. It told me to go back to Benares — to go back at once — that night. I struggled with it — all the pain, and bitterness, and doubt of many months, rose up and did battle. Why should I believe — why should I trust, and obey? I tried to go on writing. But the bidding came ever sterner and more dominant — I was to go back — at once. At last in despair I left my writing, and went to the office. Was there a train that night? Yes — midnight. I heard myself saying I should take it.

And next afternoon I reached Benares and found that the girl was

dying, and in need of me — or rather it was not so much I whom she needed, as Mrs. Besant, but she needed me to bring Mrs. Besant to her. And as Mrs. Besant and I stood together by her bedside before she died, I understood that I *had* been brought to India. That there was a Power which saw and heard — which could shape events, and speak to us, if we would listen. My void was filled — I had got all I needed.

For as I glanced back, the facts for me made a conclusive whole. I remembered my desperate cry the April previous, and my meeting with Mrs. Besant the following month. The being put into her cabin on the voyage — through which opportunity alone did I really come to know her. The coming of this girl to my hotel in Benares, and her being placed even at my table. All these circumstances beyond my control. Then her appeal to me to teach her Theosophy — for this was what she wanted of me, and what made her cling to me. Her subsequent illness, and my departure later in that spirit of weary scepticism — "I can do no good." Then the command to return — so clear that it conquered scepticism, and my own shrinking from return. And following on that, peace — for her, as she passed on to other worlds — for me, as I turned again to face this one. Surely my heart had reason to cry gladly as it did — "God can hear — God can guide — God can speak!" But there was something else, it felt too — a linking to Theosophy such as it had never felt before.

For I remembered now, as I looked back, how in my first hour of bitter need, when I demanded to understand life's injustice, it was a theosophical explanation which was given me under the chloroform. I had not cared to join the Theosophical Society at that time, but that resistance had mattered little. My whole life had been enormously affected by the teaching from the moment of receiving it, as I well knew. And then, when four stormy years had passed over my head, once more in an hour of need I cried aloud — and this time it was the leader of Theosophy who came into my life, carrying me forward instantly on a new flood of life and energy. But still, like the Jews of old, I had cried for a sign — and it was given me, in a Theosophical task to perform.

All these things I felt very deeply in the quiet days that followed this girl's passing, and they constitute a part of what I mean by the "current" — God as felt in the shaping of circumstance. I generally

feel very clearly now whether or no I am in this current; that dim sense which kept me from running away that night at Lucknow, has grown into something much, much stronger. Very often when I step out of one line of activity, and into another, in a way which to an onlooker may seem sudden and impulsive, it is not really so — I am guided by some knowledge of this kind. And so strong is it, that however difficult outer circumstances may be, I am sustained by a perfect assurance of success so long as I have that sense of being "in the current" — whilst no matter how prosperous things may seem, I lose all strength and impetus *instantly*, when I have not got it. Again I shall try to illustrate this with some facts from my outer life.

It was in the autumn of 1903 that I first came to Italy, and the following February that I started the work which has developed since in a way that has roused some comment. I have been enabled to introduce in Rome, and latterly in three other cities of Italy, an experiment of that American penal reform, the Probation system. There are societies in Rome, Milan, Turin and Florence for carrying on the work, which include many influential people, especially from the political and legal worlds. The work has been honored by parliamentary mention, and is assisted by a Government subsidy — it is possible that the private experiment may help to make Probation law in Italy some day. And people understanding something of the depth of the work, look sometimes with a puzzled curiosity at its founder nowadays, they cannot find an adequate cause for such results. For they see only a foreigner — not rich, or influential, or remarkable in any way. "How have you done it?" they sometimes ask me frankly — and when they do not ask, I sometimes read their wonder in their eyes.

Yet it is only wonderful because they do not catch the truth — that it is not *I* who have done it at all. I have been only an instrument, through which great forces behind me have worked. My whole merit has lain in understanding, and trusting, and holding on — that is all. Some merit perhaps there is in that, for there are many weary hours when reason fights hard with intuition — when our human self agrees entirely with the people who would fain dissuade, and discourage, and hold us back. We see all the difficulties quite as clearly as they do — we think they are very probably right in calling us mad — and failure can be the only thing awaiting us. But still we know we must go on, just like soldiers who have had their orders — success and

failure are not our business. But these hours are weary, for nobody likes marching upon failure. And yet I know such hours are my whole human contribution to the work which now exists. All the rest has been done through me; but the holding on of my human self through these hours when things looked hopeless, *was* needed, and so for that one thing I may perhaps allow people, if they must, to give me praise.

But that is all—and even that has depended so much on the inner vision, that perhaps it is not right to call even that much the work of my human self. It is true that there were periods before the work was launched in which hope went away entirely—but even then there was memory—and as Matthew Arnold says,

> "Tasks in hours of insight willed
> Can be through hours of gloom fulfilled"

It is impossible with a person who has once had vision to say where the effect of that vision ends.

And I had had the vision so clearly—so clearly. It was in July, 1904, that a pamphlet describing the Probation System first fell into my hands. And as I read it, one of those trembling fits seized me, which always seem to come to me together with the prophetic sense. I knew that I had found something very big—that I was going to do something with what I read—that perhaps it was my life work which had come to me.

For I recognized, as I read, that the Probation System in its essence was an actuation of theosophical principles—it was a substitution of idealistic for materialistic methods—and that in a field which cries perhaps more than any other for labor and for light. With a great rush of peace it seemed to me that all the threads of my life were at last being blended and utilized. For I had worked some years among the poor of London, and learned to love and honor them, yet left my work at last with a sense of its futility. And then entering the Theosophical Society, I had thought to find contentment through the propagation of ideas alone. But that, too, had failed to satisfy. And only as I sat with that Probation pamphlet in my hand did the full truth dawn on me—that that life alone is complete which unites activity and thought—which throws all its strength towards the *actuation* of a great idea. And very clear did it seem to me that God had been leading me to this perception through all the shaping of my

life. All things shared in the sanctification of the new idea. There was no part of my life which was not needed—which did not take its place. Never have I felt God more clearly in "the shaping of circumstances" than that day as I read that pamphlet, and it was with that sense of mission strong upon me that I came back to Rome the following autumn and commenced my work of propaganda for the Probation System. The previous months since February had been spent in prison visitation, which had only shown me the hopelessness of prison systems and the need of radical preventive work.

It was this sense of "converging threads" then which first launched me in Probation work; and in the striking way that help has come to me in these years, there have been for me continued signs of guidance. I knew only six people when I came back to Rome in that autumn of 1904, and only one of these was influential. I had no great money resources, a very imperfect knowledge of the language, and no knowledge at all of Italian customs. When I had occasion to approach my Embassy, the American Embassy, the previous spring, to ask aid in obtaining my prison permit, I had to do so without myself holding any introduction, only letters of testimony to work done in London. And my accent was so English, through my European birth and education, that I was even asked if I were an American at all. Yet Mr. Meyer, the ambassador of that time, gave me what I wanted—a letter of introduction to the Governor General of the Prisons. And he made it a very strong letter, which gained me instantly the permit I desired. And soon my hands were further strengthened. Before I sailed for America a year later, in the spring of 1905, to study the Probation System in the land of its birth, a letter had been given me by a new friend, which fortified my position greatly. It was a letter of introduction to President Roosevelt, which gained for me an official introduction to the "Diplomatic and Consular officers of the United States in Italy," and ensured me their help in my work at any future time when I might need it. And the dear friend who gained me this —Miss Bertha Potter, as she then was, Mrs. Robert Minturn now, of New York—had also come into my life in a somewhat unusual way. We were cabin companions for part of my voyage home from India, and then met again in Rome shortly before my sailing for America. It is the time and manner in which help often comes into my life, which makes me feel a guidance in such help—events dovetail so won-

derfully—events which depend upon one another. And everything always comes at the *right* time—when the effect will be greatest, and nothing is lost.

These things all come into what I call the current, and they lend a great strength and peace. Yet sometimes, when our sight does not reach far enough, our clinging to these evidences may constitute one of our greatest difficulties. God never *is* ranged against Himself—I mean it is impossible that any divine bidding which comes to us, from within or from without, should really be in conflict with that working out of the plan which He has so far accomplished, or is going to accomplish, in outer events. I say there never can really be this conflict, but very often there may seem to he. We may be required to do something which may seem to take us right away from what we have previously recognized as the current. And then the strain is very bad—it seems like God denying Himself. And whichever way we turn—whichever way we act—it seems we must do wrong. But at these times it is well if we cease to think about the current—the general plan, which we are not able to see in all its details—and take just that next step ahead which seems to us most right at the moment. By so doing we are obeying the God within at least—that much is sure. And if we can act this way and wait—not losing faith in the past guidance which *seems* to be contradicted, nor yet trying to force past and present into harmony when that harmony for the moment does not exist—if we can wait, I say, clinging to uncompromising truth at least, though the admission of such truth may seem to shatter our dearest idols—if we can do this, the discord will pass at length, and once more all the chords will sound in perfect harmony—and ever a stronger, more ringing harmony than before.

I am not writing any theories in writing this, but an experience, deeply lived. After what I have written of my experiences and thoughts in India, it will be easily understood that for me to leave the Theosophical Society altogether for a time, as I did a year after leaving India, seemed a very deliberate stepping out of the current. But it was the step that looked to me right at the time. Yet not right in any exalted way—I had no "bidding" to assist me in doing it. It was just the step which most recommended itself to my human conscience and reason. And sometimes we are left like this at very critical times—we cry for a sign, and it seems as though the moment

demanded, entitled us to guidance. But none comes. We have to act simply in our human strength, wearily hoping that our decision may be right, but feeling no assurance that it is so. It seems hard that we should be left unhelped at such moments, but I think it is done that our human selves may grow stronger.

For it is a special strength that comes to us at these times; not a glad upliftment, or sense of sanctification, such as is ours when we feel ourselves under guidance—but a sense of quiet dignity, which we seem to know will be a very good wearing article. We are not at all sure we are right—but we are ready to be wrong—that seems to be our state of mind. And I think it is a very considerable degree of peace and strength which is gained, when we are ready to be wrong.

We feel only that we must understand every step we tread — that is what we feel at these times. We recognize that we may be missing something by this doggedness, but till a fuller light comes to us we must walk by what we have. This is the state of mind produced when light is shut off from us. And I think it is very important that all who are going to be subject to unseen guidance should develop this power of resistance, so that alone explains for me the times when no help comes.

We have to learn to give a higher place to conscience and reason than the man whose life is guided by these alone. This may sound strange, but it is true. Christ said, "I came not to destroy the law, but to fulfill" — in fulfilling we may sometimes transcend, but we must never destroy.

And how can this be ensured save by bringing our conscience and our reason to a point of extra sensitiveness by perfect obedience? Through reverent treatment of them, not abuse, our reason and conscience expand, and are able to embrace widening perceptions of right and beauty, and with time endorse promptings which at an earlier stage they would have found it impossible to comprehend or accept. And through such endorsement alone can reign that sense of harmony which I have already spoken of as our only safeguard when dealing with unseen things. There must be this harmony, and it comes through the development of the human self, not its violation.

Thus had it meant no more than this chance of developing my human self I should see gain enough in this time when I was required to step out of the "current" as it seemed to me — when it looked

most right to follow just my human conscience and reason, and not try to understand my place in the "great plan." But my action brought me much more than this — it taught me very vividly the lesson that it is quite impossible to step out of the current, when we are following an idea of right — that this *is* the voice of God when other voices are silent, and we can trust God to work out the harmony, if we do not spoil it by trying to play a melody of our own. An excessive desire to co-operate may obstruct the Divine schemes sometimes I think, as much as intentional opposition.

I shall illustrate this presently, but before proceeding to do so, I ought to mention that I did have one direct bidding at this time. It was not directly connected with my resignation from the Theosophical Society, it concerned another matter, but it occurred coincidently. And for a time this command seemed to be falsified — that is to say only pain, and no apparent profit, followed on my obedience to it. And this was the severest test that my faith in the biddings had yet been subjected to. For on other occasions beauty and harmony had followed instantly. But it means much to me to remember that my faith in this bidding did not waver through this period of seeming denial, and at a moment when the denial seemed most complete. I attested my reception of the bidding to somebody whose scepticism I knew would have much power to hurt. It was not till a year later that the bidding was justified, but my faith in it had never wavered throughout.

And I feel bound to tell this incidsnt because I know it was greatly influencing my inner life at this time. It was adding both to my strength and to my difficulty, if that can be understood. It was adding to my strength in this way — that it is impossible to receive one of these biddings and not have a great additional strength for many months afterwards — one becomes for a time something larger than one's normal self. In that way the bidding was helping me. But on the other hand I had to watch it being apparently denied—the strain on my lower self was increased by it. At the same time as I was being asked to doubt God's shaping of circumstance by feeling obliged to step outside the current in the way I have told, I was also being called to question His revelation in these biddings, which had meant so much, so very much in my life.

It was like two portions of the Trinity being withdrawn—the

Father and the Son. But the third still remained—the spirit within us. And I feel no difficulty in saying I was upheld by the third person of the Trinity at this time, though I have said elsewhere that it was a period when I was thrown back upon my human strength.

It was in this state that I came back to Rome in the autumn of 1904 and commenced my propaganda for Probation. And I can describe it best by calling it a "suspended" state. I had not lost my hold of things despite the double pressure—I did not doubt the past guidance of my life, nor any of the biddings. But I was badly puzzled. Things had not worked out—I could not understand, and it felt a little bit like walking along a road blindfold.

It would be telling rather the story of my outer than my inner life if I were to dwell upon all the events which belong to this period, which in its entirety lasted three years; the time devoted to Probation propaganda amounting to eighteen months. I commenced this propaganda in November, 1904, and the society I have mentioned was launched in Rome in May, 1906. It will suffice in writing of this period if I state that it held many mistakes, but that these mistakes were always counteracted by some greater force. The mistakes will readily be credited remembering the poverty of my equipment already mentioned—the counteracting force must also be accepted by reason of the success which crowns the work to-day.

But what exactly has this force been? In great part it has been intuition, or the biddings I have spoken of as coming from within. There has been help too from outside—the "shaping of circumstance" which in a small way I have indicated. I might have given further instances of this—might have mentioned how a deputy made a speech in Parliament at a critical moment, which increased my prison permit —how an international prison Congress was induced to pass a vote for Probation, when such discussion was not upon its programme. These things, and many others like them, were continual proofs to me of that current I have spoken of. But the great strength—the deciding factor in these years, has lain in intuition, so it is rather on that that I must dwell.

My outer life commenced to develop, and has developed steadily, from the moment that I gave the reins to intuition. In my girlhood I did not trust this force, although it was always strong within me, and I allowed reason to rule all my actions. But there came a day when I

made a definite compact with intuition, or my "Dream Life" as I called it then, that it should rule. I have never broken that compact, and by the time I came to Italy obedience to intuition had become a settled habit.

And this, I see, looking back, was the decisive factor in those struggling months. For difficulties were many, and hope burned low, and again and again reason urged me to abandon a hopeless task. But there was always an inner voice which told me with still greater clearness that I was going to win. It was a double consciousness which was mine through all those months—with one part of myself I was convinced of failure—with another of success. But through all fluctuations of feeling I *went on*, which means that intuition ruled.

Without exception. For at the eleventh hour there came a supreme test. A certain deputy demanded a plan of action which my intuition told me would not do. But he insisted, and he was at that time the only strong supporter of the work. He told me I must choose between accepting his plan and forfeiting his support. I chose the latter, because to have done otherwise would have meant leaving that current which I have said I dare not leave. This deputy represented all that force which the world lends, but he was setting himself against a current which I divined partly by my intuition, and partly by the trend of circumstance. I let him go, and a month later the society was inaugurated with far greater forces than those he had withdrawn.

An overshadowing is the way in which I have felt guidance through my work in Italy. There have been no specific commands such as that which came to me by the sea, or that other which came to me in India. But there has been something more continuous. In almost any moment of any gravity, there has come to me a *sense* of what to do — a certitude, before acting, that the decision reached was right. And this certitude has meant all my strength. So much that whenever it has been missing, I have recognized its absence as a danger signal, and refrained from action. And such abstention has generally been later shown as wise.

We call it "intuition," this sense which is higher than reason, but the word conveys little. As we use the power more and more, we come to recognize it as the divine principle within us. And when we make mistakes through following it, we know such mistakes are due not to the promptings, but to our inability to grasp these promptings properly.

But since this difficulty exists, we learn to form tests for ourselves and to abide by them scrupulously. The test of harmony already mentioned is one which never fails. When our sense of beauty — of right and fitness, is fully satisfied, action is ever safe. It is well if we can join to this the endorsement of our reason. But reason works slowly, and sometimes occasions would be lost, if we waited for its full consent. It is enough on such occasions if reason be not violated — if we feel that its consent will be added with time. But this only when time presses. When waiting is possible, we should always wait for reason to lend us the strength of its full consent before we act. But in no case, and under no pressure, can we dispense with the harmony born of the satisfaction of our sense of right and fitness. To violate this is fatal, while to observe it means safety always.

But in connection with my Italian work I had no complex biddings — only the simple overshadowing I have described: a sense of every action being "endorsed," or not endorsed, which kept me straight. And with the inauguration of the work in May, 1906, my "suspended state" was in part at least relieved. The sense of having been led to that particular work at least was justified.

But there still remained the threads of the past to be blended — brought in — that theosophical thread, without which the pattern could not feel complete to me.

But this, too, came to pass less than a year later: that is to say, three years after leaving the Theosophical Society, circumstances had so changed as to allow me to rejoin it. And this is the illustration of what I said I should illustrate — that we never can step outside the current in any way, when we are sincerely following our idea of right. But rather are we likely to do so if we cling unduly to what we *imagine* to be the current — in other words, through excessive desire to co-operate with the Divine Will create deviations of our own.

In this instance everything turned to profit — my Probation work was stronger for my momentary abandonment of Theosophy — my theosophical work was much stronger when I brought back to it my three years' fruits of Probation. Such was the general upshot. The detail there is no need to dwell on, but I may just mention that there were for me in these years continual and wonderful little instances of blending — people with whom I thought to have only Probation relations, turned out to be in the Theosophical current, and to want some

Theosophical service from me, and my ability to render these services was often built on my position gained in Probation work. Constantly recurring instances of this kind had already done much to restore my sense of harmony even before the development of events allowed me to return to the Theosophical Society — but when events did reach that point it meant very much to me.

For I have written this account very badly if I have failed to convey the depth of the impression made on me by that first experience under chloroform — by my first meeting with Mrs. Besant; and by the task given me in India. They were all impressions so deep that when they would not fit in with other events, all I could do as I have said, was to keep a suspended judgment. Truly I could not see the fitting in — but neither could I conceive a completed pattern in which they would not take their place. I do not wish to convey by this any idea that I consider the Theosophical Society (or even the Theosophical movement, which is a much bigger thing) the only, or even necessarily the *supreme* channel, through which divine light and power are coming to our age. That power is coming by many channels, with ever increasing force. The Theosophical movement is only one of them. But it is the one with which my life has been curiously connected: my experiences have been such as to make me feel it my field of labor— one chosen for me by a higher power than myself — and that is what makes me unhappy when at any time I am carried out of it.

And to make it a little clearer how I feel this so strongly it is, perhaps, necessary to say a little more regarding my connection with Mrs. Besant. I have told of her coming into my life at a desperate moment — as I believe, sent. And I have told of the task given me to perform in conjunction with her soon after — to me a very sacred task, and one which I regarded as a "sign post." And I have mentioned that I have loved her greatly — though on that, I have not attempted to dwell. But all these ties though close, are not the closest, and it is the closest, that I ought, perhaps, to try to indicate now.

That has lain in her enormous power of inspiring me—of ever driving me forward to a deeper self-realization—through opposition and agreement—pain and gladness—light and darkness. Through all fluctuations that *developing* force has been ever present. And there is no tie so deep as this—none so far above the human, while yet including all the human. When any soul has such an influence as this

upon us, we know they are the channel of a force greater than their own. And it is the Power we feel behind that binds us to them—that, coupled with our recognition of the enormous gain that has come to us through them. It is not human gratitude and human love, as is often thought, though most surely those things are there. But the tie is something far deeper. It is a recognition of them as *distributing agencies of power*—centres for the Divine Force to work through. They have been this in our life, and so we know that they can be the same in the lives of others. And in proportion as we have received, do we feel the need to testify. It is not they whom we think to serve by such testimony—it is the hungry world on one side, and the force seeking to reach that world, upon the other. Both these need our testimony, and in love to both, we give it. And if it ever falls to our lot to be able to give such testimony, the giving appears to us at once our highest privilege and highest duty. So that if for a time such duty be withdrawn, there seems to be a terrible blank in our life, as of a missing chord. This in its deepest sense was what leaving the Theosophical Society meant to me—besides seeming to carry me out of the current of guided *events*, it meant my temporary separation from Mrs. Besant, and she had been to me one of these distributing centres of divine force to whom I had joyed to testify. But the music was only stilled that it might ring out more strongly—all that was withdrawn has been restored, and my testimony I think is stronger than in earlier days.

But would anybody say from this that it is a personal human love that binds me to Theosophy? If so, I have written badly. I joined the Theosophical Society, it is true, on the moment of my first meeting Mrs. Besant, when I had held away from it for nearly four years previous. But I could do this because she was to me an "evidence for things unseen." I have told of the shrinking I felt in those four years because of the things which my soul knew, and my mind did not know—it was because my mind did not know that I shrank back from the Society during this time. Mrs. Besant harmonized the discord—slowly I began to understand, and from the first instant I felt things sanctified. That was how I could join the Society at this time. Most surely there was human love, but that was not the reason, any more than it was a sufficient reason to hold me in when the time came when I felt obliged to leave the Society for a while.

At the commencement of this account I said that I had beaten my beliefs out in life, and that is what I have done. When they have harmonized with Theosophy, I have accepted Theosophy, and when they have not, I have not. Truth, as life has taught it to me, has always been the bar to which I have brought all things to be judged. And so as a "believer" I have needs progressed slowly—my creed being ever limited by my experience. How true this is can be seen by glancing at my theological progression. As a child and girl I felt only a ruling power—in those days I hated church, and if I had anything to say to God, said it in my own way. In the Nursing Home there came to me the knowledge of God as Love—I knew no more than that—Christ and the Trinity still remained a dead letter to me. So my next step in theology was to become a Theist—that was the church I attended happily for two years, and I send ever grateful and appreciative memory to its dear founder and minister, the Rev. Charles Voysey, hoping and believing that that church may be the comfort and support to many that it was to me. My next step was to join the Theosophical Society, and my next again to leave it—both actions expressing an increase in experience. But my last step, as I have said, has been to join it again. And if this time I feel there will be no leaving, and I am content to-day to call myself a Theosophist, it is because an ever increasing number of my life's experiences fall within the explanations of Theosophy. This for me is the proof of its truth —the reason it seems to me the fullest teaching yet given to the world. In this my reason finds satisfaction. And heart and soul find satisfaction in the manner in which I have felt myself guided to it—which makes it feel a field not self-chosen, but chosen for me—which make me hope my coming may have value for some others, not only for myself.

This finishes my main story, but there are perhaps a few points I may touch on in conclusion. A word, I think, I ought to say on dreams and premonitions.

Premonitions have been very strong in my life, though I do not know any exact purpose they have served, except to generally strengthen my sense of the unseen world. They have never saved me from anything, but they have served sometimes as a sort of warning to "make ready"—at other times to loosen my hold on things—and at others again, they have buoyed me up.

The first strong premonition that I can remember, came at the end of my first year at college—I felt that I was not coming back the following autumn. This premonition was strong enough to make me quite unhappy, for I was fond of my college life—I remember I told it to my sister weeping. And it was fulfilled—I took scarlet fever the following September, and had to degrade for a year.

There was no value in this premonition in itself, nor in various other trifling ones that came to me in these years—about people I was going to meet—little things that were going to happen, etc. But they increased my sense of the reality of the information which came to me in this way, and that was of use for the future.

The next strong premonition I had was during the months prior to my meeting Mrs. Besant. It was a very strong premonition of change —and change in the way of betterment. These were the darkest months of my life, as I have said, and this premonition meant much. I would not own that I believed it, but I know in reality I clung to it —it went into everything I wrote at that time—letters, a diary, and other things. And most surely it was fulfilled. Mrs. Besant and my Indian experience brought the first light, and those, leading me to Italy, brought expansion to my outer life as well.

And this premonition of "change" is the most unerring with me; I get mistaken impressions of lesser things sometimes, but never this. It always precedes great events, and I know quite well that something is going to happen. And so it does serve as a sort of preparation, as I said—one withdraws a little from the outer life—the inner life intensifies—and when the big events come they find one ready.

With regard to dreams, it is more difficult to tell my experience, for it is not so much complete dreams which have influenced my life as *single ideas*, and a general *sense* of things on waking. But this *sense* of things has meant an enormous amount to me. It has often corrected and kept me from believing evidence of this plane. And later it is the evidence of this sense on waking which is that justified. One instance of this I shall try to tell as well as I can.

Some time ago I woke up suddenly in the middle of the night with the idea of something that I had to do. It was quite clear, very clear, but I could not see any way to put it into practice. It was one of those instances I spoke of, where something is left out. I did feel the inherent rightness of the idea, but no *application* I could devise

satisfied my sense of right and fitness. So I put the idea aside. But fourteen months later there came to me news from the *outer* world, which made this idea spring up again with intensified force—I saw the need of it, and this time it was not impossible—I found a means of application to which both my conscience and my reason could give a quiet assent. Was I moved in this instance from within or from without? I think both ways. And in the largest acts of one's life, I think it is well that it should be both ways. Had I acted on this idea as soon as it came to me, the act would have been premature in time, and also, by reason of my want of comprehension and preparation, more crudely performed, which illustrates the need I mentioned of never obeying biddings until at least our moral sense agrees. This restrained me in this instance until the right time came. But when it came I knew it—unknown to me I believe this idea was working in me through all these fourteen months, and when the call came from the outer world I sprang forward, as one who has been long, though unconsciously prepared. And my act was justified—greatly justified—as such acts, thank God, have ever been in my life.

I think with that I have told the last thing I can. I have told of God as I felt Him in my childhood—of the biddings that have come to me in later years—of the way that I have tried to understand, and fulfill those biddings, and the gladness—the expansion of both inner and outer life that has followed. And for those who may care a little for what I have written—who may not themselves have had such guidance, and may wish to have it, I would write one word of encouragement in conclusion. I would tell them that in these years I have been in one school of training only—life. Learning lessons, therefore, that are equally open to all—not easy, I do not say, but open to all. Lessons spiritual, lessons moral, lessons psychic—but all such only as life has brought me. I have given little time to books in these years—my learning has come from inner struggle and outer action. And the path which has brought me results, will bring them to all. Only it must be remembered that all efforts must be made, if all results would be obtained. That is to say, labor in one field will not attain results in another. We shall gain peace and gladness by moral and spiritual development, but not necessarily the hearing of the Voice. The hearing of the Voice comes by obedience to the Voice. And this is difficult. For in the beginning we hear it very faintly, and there is

no precedent to go upon, and obedience is like leaping in the dark. But we must take the leaps—there is no other way. If we stifle the Voice it will be fainter next time—only by use can it grow stronger.

But even through this slow development of our psychic sense, though it is the hardest part, there is no real danger, if we observe just the few precautions I have tried in this account to indicate: never to go against our conscience, and only against our reason if we are very hard pressed for time, and have the inner certitude that its endorsement will follow later. Within these limits one is quite safe. And it ought also to be realized that light will begin to come before one has got anywhere near to being either a prophet or a saint. One can know the gladness of the "God within" while the character is still very imperfect. Three qualities only I find as I look back over the years it is necessary one should possess before one can know this gladness: — Faith, which gives the ears to hear — courage, which gives the power to experiment — truth, which alone can guide one safely through all the confusion caused by one's own lower nature, and the forces outside oneself. With these three qualities alone one can go far in knowledge of God — in *realising* the intercourse between divine and human—between the visible and invisible worlds.

My account is finished. If it be ever read may it convey to others something of that glad assurance which has moved me to the writing of it.

WASTE INVOLVED IN CHURCH METHODS.

By E. L. TALBERT

University of Chicago

Some years ago bitter dissension arose in a city church over a seemingly trivial doctrinal question. To express the universality of the issues at stake the name "People's Congregational Church" was given to the malcontent band of seceders from Presbyterianism; to show that the democratic label was no talisman to prevent future friction and inefficiency and to point out some wider implications is the purpose of this paper.

It is assumed that the fortunes of the group of people in question are typical of many pursuing similar methods. The church stood in a community of wageworkers, largely mechanics and clerks, of moderate salaries. There were, of course, some Roman Catholics sprinkled among its German and Irish population, but as a whole the likeness of interests and occupations offered exceptional opportunities for a vigorous working organization.

The membership was predominantly of women, the usual mixture of old men, young people, and children constituting the remainder. About half the flock attended the preaching of the pastor, a stern hortatory product of the denominational theological seminary. His real failure to touch the lives of his parishioners found admirable illustration in a periodic denunciation of the easily detected sins of card-playing and dancing. The force of his argument was considerably lamed, however, by the open secret that his two sons clandestinely practiced both of the tabooed recreations.

Most of the energy of the officers and minister was expended in keeping up the services and raising money for current expenses and foreign missions. The Sunday School was conducted on the unpedagogical and accepted plan of handing out "lesson leaves" (ludicrously ill adapted to the needs of the various classes) from which charming but inexperienced girls moralized to restless youngsters; an over-subjective tone characterized the whole program; repeated urgings to an emotional experience deemed pre-eminently valid begot callousness in response to the gracious law of habit. The junior Christian Endeavor

Society did all it could to crush the spontaneity of childhood by its insistence upon testimony and belief in a weak solution of theological precepts.[1] The Senior Christian Endeavor Society attracted girls and boys of a certain temperament. It provided a convenient meeting place, but the absence of objective interests and the consequent stress laid upon "taking part" in the meetings fostered shallowness, internal strife, and an hypocricy more dangerous because unconscious and held in high esteem. One of the remembered surprises came to the writer when he heard the frank confession of some of the young men (who were considered strong members) as to their "worldly" deeds.

In the winter there were two church "events". For three bustling days the neighborhood was invited to buy candy and lace at high prices and to invest in profitable games called gambling by the secular mind. Some weeks after the "fair" there issued another call upon the community — to hear a noted evangelist entreat men to forsake the "world" — and save their souls. The schemes used are well known. Extensive advertising beforehand by means of newspapers, distribution of cards, notices and personal visits, was followed by despotic control within the church walls. Instead of appealing to rational choice, every means of breaking down resistance was employed. Harrowing stories of deliverance, suggestive catchwords and pathetic songs coupled with physical exhaustion after hours of repetition brought forth what was deemed a rich harvest.

Some new members joined the local church; the feverish storm of revival days was succeeded by a dead calm; the regular minister could not compete with the sensationalism of the revivalist and the latter state was worse than the former. Many of the best residents of the district lost interest in the church; in the statistics of conversion these do not appear. At last reports a more devoutly evangelistic type of preacher had been hired; the few faithful ones of peculiar, responsive temperament had been "selected" in the struggle with the community.[2]

Many readers will think this a harsh misrepresentation; at any rate it serves to direct attention upon a problem needing enforcement and solution. No one can deny that any elaborate machinery turns out some product; people of religious attitude blessed with obedience and

[1] Coe, Education in Religion and Morals. p. 377 and Chap. xxi.

[2] *Cf.* James, Varieties of Religious Experience, pp. 237 and 333; Pratt, Psychology of Religious Belief, Chap. ix.

devotion to old things will develop under almost any system; what shall we say of the types which the modern church has not seen fit to select? Undoubtedly it does exert a measure of control, but it may well be argued that its success is attained not because of the time honored devices, rather in spite of them; it is possible that the suggestions and balancings wrought by other social agencies more in contact with present needs are responsible for a "saving of souls" which the church stoutly claims for itself. To be considered also is the psychological truism that one may become used to and justify any habit no matter how harmful, provided it is backed up by tradition and unreflective public approval.

It is often forgotten that prodigal nature produces many variations in temperament and psychic response. The cognitive, the emotional, and the volitional mingle in myriad shadings.[1] Our elaborate technique has even developed persons non religious according to accepted standards.[2] A wise religious pedagogy will not deal with old and young, man and woman *en masse;* it will adapt to situation and individual need.[3] It is, therefore, from the standpoint of economy that current methods should be examined, assuming that the history of progress is a record of the gradual decrease of waste. Even if in a more primitive "pain" economic situation with a low food supply and a stubborn environment calling forth strenuous exertion and violent passions, the fear inspired individual demanded an equally supreme emotional experience to throw him in the straight and narrow way,[4] it

[4] A suggestive but erratic attempt to correlate religious and economic phenomena on the basis of reaction is made by Patten in the Development of English Thought, Chapter 1 *et passim*; the environment of fear as a stimulus to early revivals, especially those of Jonathan Edwards and James McGready, is discussed by Davenport, *op. cit.* Chaps. 6 and 8; *cf.* Dole: Theology of Civilization, pp. 211 *et seq.* and James H. Leuba, *Amer. Jour. of Relig. Psych.* and Ed. Vol. 2, No. 1, pp. 3-13.

[1] See Coe's classification of temperaments in "The Spiritual Life," p. 114 *et seq.* *Cf.* preface and introductory chapter to the same volume; Granger, the Soul of a Christian, p. 77.

[2] Irving King: Differentiation of the Religious Consciousness, pp. 52-54.

[3] Davenport: Primitive Traits in Religious Revivals, p. 315 *et seq.*

For a statement of the conditions leading to the gradual abandonment of the revival process, see *ibid.* pp. 211-215. Both Wesley and Moody revised their early methods, *ibid.* p. 173 *et seq.*, p. 206 *et seq.*

Hall: Adolescence, Vol. 2, p. 346, "Precocious Revivalism is a little like teaching school children the duties and responsibilities of married life."

does not plainly follow that in our ordered regime with its exhaustless power of production, higher standard of life, and scientific technique, with a theory of evolution which applies to education and religion, we should cling blindly to methods that do not function adequately.[1]

Probably the story of Saul's conversion, as related by a writer of mystical bias, has conspired to give a certain "set" to religious experience; the unfortunate result is that it seems to sanction what is unnatural and impossible to a majority of persons. With due reverence to the power and genius of him who brought democracy to Europe, it is folly to ask the average man (of whom Democracy must take account) to duplicate the transformation of an intense Rabbinical Jew, whatever objective worth it had to him, and to others of like nature.[2]

The method of Jesus is a happy contrast. His poise, his reserve, his use of simile and placing of the particular under a general principle, his manner of telling stories to enforce by suggestion, have not been chosen by the church as a whole, owing to the incubus of the Pauline bent of Calvinism. Taking the family relationship as his approach to life's meaning, Jesus idealized the steady, quiet emotions born of intimate association. God is the Father; men are brothers; all should become as little children. What theology interprets as violent, cataclysmic conversion meant to him simply a change of attitude, a new scale of values, a way, a life.[3] To suit its purpose of emphasizing the separateness of the religious life, the church has magnified the uniqueness and supernatural character of what we like to think in the estimamation of Jesus was the normal rational experience.

The church is consequently sidetracked from the community life.[4] They who do not belong to the leisure class are bound down by concrete interests; the prevalent religious appeal ignores their daily routine and builds up a universe in terms of miracle, mediæval status, and "archaic" virtues.[5] Instead of infusing meaning into daily labor, instead of neu-

[1] Starbuck: Psychology of Religion, Chap. xiii.

[2] Granger: *op. cit.* p. 77.

[3] Jane Addams: "The Subjective Necessity for Social Settlements," p. 17 *et seq.*, in Philanthropy and Social Progress; Henry D. Lloyd: Man the Social Creator, Chapter xi on "The Religion of Labor."

[4] Dole, *op. cit.*, p. 20 *et seq.*

[5] "Men trained by the mechanical occupations to materialistic habits of thought are beset with a growing inability to appreciate or even to apprehend the meaning of religious appeals that proceed on the old fashioned grounds of metaphysical validity. The consolations of a personal relation (of subservience) to a supernatural

tralizing an unscrupulous competition and a still more wanton monopoly, instead of seeking first to understand its environment and second to transfigure it, it has adapted itself to a group who sustain its services, and has worked up its emotion for the purpose of reclaiming the heathen Chinese or to "convert" those whom it does not understand.

The waste of emotion is further seen when we consider that the church has little definite work for the converts to do. Since it has no adequate "follow up" system, the new members have insufficient outlet for their newly awakened enthusiasm. Sometimes they give vent to it in criticizing fellow members for want of zeal, a compliment returned with interest. Internal friction is inevitable when objective outlets of energy are lacking. Of course the failure to appeal to masculine ideals and activity is one explanation of the large proportion of women in our church attendance.[1]

That the boys in the neigborhood of the "People's" Church delighted to break windows and carry away the fence is a symptom of a deeper disease. It was only during "revival" and "fair" time that the members manifested active concern in the welfare of the neighborhood. Of the two the fair was by far more successful in connecting with human interests, for objective collective processes employing many who would scorn to go to a regular "service" had to be used. The revival, on the other hand, employed individualistic methods alien to the workers organized into fraternal societies and trade unions whose motto is "Workmen of the World, Unite!"[2] The fact that most of our churches are upheld by captains of industry, professional and trading classes together with genteel clerks allied in ideals and interest with the prevailing technique of production and exchange is not explained wholly by the superior intelligence of this group. It rests upon historical evolution and a psychology of the machine process.[3]

master do not appeal to men whose habit of thought is shaped by a familiarity with the relations of cause and effect rather than by relations of personal dominance and fealty." Veblen, Theory of Business Enterprise, p. 359 *et seq.* *Cf.* the same writer's Theory of the Leisure Class," p. 330.

[1] See Patten, *op. cit.*, on The Manly and Womanly Elements in Religion, pp. 251–256. Also E. H. Abbott, Religious Life in America, pp. 47–49.

[2] See Coe, Religion of a Mature Mind, p. 274. His point that in revivals the chief stimulus is to self-regarding considerations, is pertinent. *Cf.* p. 374, *et seq.*

[3] Veblen, in the works cited above, analyzes the psychic effects of the mechanical industries upon the workmen and the employer, the latter standing for "natural rights" to property, the former to norms of utility. For the present purpose it is

The churches which place little stress upon subjective experience of a distinctly decisive character, as the Catholic and the Protestant Episcopal, are generally most successful in educational and social endeavor, as the experience of Booth in London amply reveals. So little have the orthodox devices penetrated the urban population that the Salvation Army must typify its estrangement from the regular life by its brassy demonstration. Moreover, in the midst of a peaceful industrial system diametrically opposed to the military, as Herbert Spencer often insists, it must imitate archaic ideals of unquestioning obedience in order to gain control. The testimony of Booth is that the street singing and beating of drums lose their novelty and that the Army turns more and more to scientific industrial training.[1]

When we examine the most exhaustive studies of urban life, there is one unanimous conclusion, — that of failure to cope with the situation by the prevalent machinery. Booth's careful study of London fills one with dismay.[2] Rowntree's admirable investigation of York, although

sufficient to note that the church as an "archaic" institution adopts the standpoint of the employer. The Theory of the Leisure Class, Ch. 12. In general, Veblen retains the time-honored dualism between science and religion, assuming that advance in one means decay in the other. There is no reason to suppose that there are no spiritual values in science because we have not found them. The significance of science is that it gives universality and control ; its every advance increases the possibility of a broad and generous living, and the "labor movement" is a persistent demand that the values arising from science applied to the economic organization, shall be democratized. *Cf.* Dewey, The Ethics of Democracy p. 25, in University of Michigan Philosophical Papers.

[1] "Still the existence of the Salvation Army as a religious community is far more noteworthy than its action as a Gospel mission. Indeed, tested by results, the highest value attaching to the mission efforts lies in their use in binding the community together and even in this respect Gospel mission activity is being gradually superseded by the social side of the work. — Booth, Life and Labors in London, Religious Influences, Summary, Vol. 7, p. 331.

"I do not know what may be the value, even from their point of view of the conversions recorded among native races in the East, but among those who join the Army in England, many, if not most, have come to it from some other religious body, and may even have been ardent Christians previously, and, all told, the numbers are not very large. Thus the main merit of the Army lies not in conversions but in the large number of people it has bound together by new ties whose faith it has strengthened, and whom it has set diligently to work for the social and religious welfare of the world." *Ibid.*, p. 337, and the whole of Chap. viii.

[2] "I am not concerned to deny the comparative uselessness of almost all, and the absolute uselessness of many, if not most, of the city churches at present. What we have ourselves seen recorded may well seem to confirm the view of the

dealing primarily with the economic side, is indicative of a popular alienation from religious influences.[1] The sympathetic inquiry of Abbott in regard to conditions in Baltimore comes to the same point.[2] Washington Gladden has long delivered the same message.[3]

In the center of culture, Boston, the series of papers written or edited by Woods shows deplorable indifference and ignorance.[4] As the testimony of a student dealing with problems at close range, the following is eloquent:

"The men of our age who have had something of the prophet's vision and power of language and inspiration have nearly all had the social enthusiasm and faith in the reconstructive power of Christianity. Maurice and Kingsley, Ruskin and Carlyle, Lammenais and Mazzini and Tolstoi, were true seers of God, and they made others see. On the other hand, individualistic evangelicism, while rich in men of piety and evangelistic fervor, has been singularly poor in the prophetic gift.

most hostile critic. I do not admit, however, that these buildings (the church properties) need remain unused; on the contrary I claim that they were never more required than now, and, indeed, I hold that they offer a notable opportunity." Booth, City and West End, Vol. 3 p. 49.

"If, on the other hand, the more social side of religion be aimed at in the demand for money and in its expenditure, no better field could be found for such work than that which lies at the door of the city churches. The inability to find uses for them springs, in truth, *from a pinched and narrow view of the scope of religion.* If this be not so, if these old churches really are useless to us, then let them be reverently held in trust for the advent of some wiser and more pious generation." *Ibid.*, p. 50. *Cf*: Religious Influences: Southeast and Southwest London, Vol. 5, p. 124.

[1] B. S. Rowntree, Poverty — A Study of Town Life, p. 345 *et seq.*

[2] E. H. Abbot, Religious Life in America, Chap. I–II.

[3] Washington Gladden, Social Salvation, pp. 14–26.

[4] The City Wilderness, Edited by R. A. Woods, pp. 227–230. "The ordinary Protestant Church as it is at present can reach men of a certain sort only; it cannot reach men of all sorts."

Americans in Process, pp. 363–364. "On the moral side the working classes. . . . are not held together with the established and comfortable classes in a single great spiritual communion standing ever for common humanity. The two sections of Society are in separate and opposing religious bodies. The force of these divergent loyalties is distinctly anti-social. Religious cleavage coinciding very closely with racial and industrial lines of distinction tends to make the old established Protestantism of the city a mere middle class religion. To Protestantism and Protestants as such this means exclusion from the most essential moral function of the church in a democracy and ultimate apathy and atrophy in the face of public moral needs." See also p. 369.

. . . Religious individualism lacks that vital interest in the total of human life which can create a united and harmonious and daring conception of the world. To those Christian men who have that to-day it has usually come either along the avenue of worldwide missions or of the social movement."[1]

It behooves the critic to point out a better way, a path leading to vaster landscapes. In general, if the church is to become a functional institution standing for the commonweal and claiming a genuine universality, it must adjust itself to the results of modern psychology especially as they throw light on the growth of religion in the race and in the individual; it must grasp the significance of the Christian concepts[2]; it must get command of the material of the social sciences in order to appreciate its historical setting and the reaction of environment upon the individual; it must define its relation to social progress[3]; and it must attract to itself a different type of preacher.

For better or for worse the church is linked with the whole socia environment; fundamentally conservative, there appears to be some ground for the plea of the socialist that it has become the rallying point of those who control the economic processes, *i. e.* the "bourgeoisie." Last of all the institutions has the church felt the call of the new environment created by the Industrial Revolution; its view of God, of the individual, and of social relationship bears the impress of foreign times. Too much inclined to a subjective prayer-meeting and preaching idea of its function, it has said little to the frank confession of the business world that the commonwealth has no relationship to profits,

[1] Walter Rauschenbusch, Christianity and the Social Crisis, p. 338.

[2] See Irving King. Pragmatic Interpretation of the Christian Dogma, Monist, Vol. 15, pp. 248–261, for a psychological and sociological interpretation of beliefs in terms of the relation of individuals to social crises. He shows how each dogma has served as a tool to control a concrete situation, not as an infallible finality. *Cf.* Pratt, *op. cit.*, Chaps. 1 and 2, and Tufts, The Adjustment of the Church to the Psychological Conditions of the Present, in American Journal of Theology, April, 1908.

[3] Historically, the State has assumed functions once spiritual; education, punishment, charity, etc. are now universalized political activites largely free from direct ecclesiastical influence. The particular things the church does constantly change; its all important, difficult mission is to throw the light of love and meaning on a shifting world of woe, to find the Ideal, not in a chilly realm of abstraction but in the daily dust of the Concrete. Edw. O. Sission, Inter. Jour. Ethics, Apr. '07, p. 347. *Cf.* Coe, Education in Religion and Morals p. 396 *et seq.*

except in so far as the native benevolence of the employer prompts him in isolated cases.[1] Not that the individual entrepreneur is wicked, but that the impersonal, speculative business process ignores the archaic human relations of master and man seen in the earlier handicraft period. The burden of the teaching of Ruskin and Morris and Hobson as to the disintegrating effects of modern industry still remains unanswered. Certainly the church is not to be blamed exclusively; only the tragedy is that the very ideals of love its Founder taught are those so little used in concrete economic dealings. The preacher is loath to identify himself with a trade union whose principle is co-operation and solidarity; he prefers to play golf with the millionaire magnate of his congregation rather than to incur criticism by mingling with single-taxers, socialists, and other "undesirable citizens." He accepts exemption from taxation for his church, but closes its doors except for stated "services" of "his people."

The upshot of the matter is that we should reconstruct our view of the church as a socializing medium and discard forever any special claims to its sacredness irrespective of function. Throwing aside its intellectual test of creed, the church should admit men in order to develop and save them, in the same manner as does the school. It should revitalize Paul's organic conception of society and rid itself of contempt for the influence of "mere" environment upon character. It takes some perilous chances when it flies in the face of the results of social psychology.

There is need of daily control of young people by sane educational methods, as Bushnell insisted long ago. Emotion accompanies activity; it serves as a push to get problems solved. All our "facts" are colored with feeling and not simply one group of facts picked out by religious teachers as the basis for response. It is largely because the wealth of natural feeling in children is repressed in home and school that spiritual earthquakes occur so often. Every preacher should understand the constantly growing moral and religious nature of childhood and youth, so commonly violated in assuming that the boy is a "little man", and that he can appreciate fully the "shorter catechism" and a sugar coating of religious metaphysics. At no period is there greater

[1] Veblen, Theory of Business Enterprise, p. 29 *et seq*; E. A. Ross, "New Varieties of Sin" Atlantic Mo. 15, p. 594; *Cf.* A. W. Small, The significance of Sociology for Ethics, pp. 6–7. (The Decennial Publications, University of Chicago).

need for friendly unofficial advice than in that of adolescence — encouragement which the formal pedantic preacher cannot give.[1]

Psychologically there is graver danger in unskillful teaching of the Bible than in any other subject, because of a public opinion as to the nature of the sacred books — an opinion which the thinking individual must later break with. A quiet rational educational procedure such as that enjoyed by W. E. Channing and Edward Everett Hale, would greatly eliminate such crises.[2] Moreover, the Sunday School should carefully select its songs, omitting those of objectionable imagery and emotional appeal. As a rule the Young People's Societies lack depth, fritter time away in maintaining a cumbrous machinery and do most service as social centres. They need more knowledge of the starved lives of non-church people, more wholesome, out-door activities and less pledging and formality.[3]

Economic environment and its needs as a background for genuine religious endeavor of the future church militant has been mentioned, and the summons to the preacher that he take the human standpoint of the plain man as did the founder of his faith. It remains to assert that the theological seminary is not the only place to train the coming ministers of the people. We need to re-read Emerson's address to the Cambridge Divinity Students to assure ourselves that the Hebrew Phraseology does not exhaust the ways of God to man. A man should still be called to the ministry as he should to teaching or plowing, but not in the older mystical sense. There are indications that he is entering upon the work in a radically different spirit from that of the Roman priest or of his official Protestant successor. He dare not set himself up as an infallible guide, like the Puritan preacher; he looks upon his mission in the light of an opportunity to work with mankind from the most inclusive and meaningful angle. To him systematic theology and

[1] See E. D. Starbuck, Psychology of Religion, Chap. 31; Coe, Religion of a Mature Mind, Chap. 10, on "Salvation by Education"; G. Stanley Hall, Adolescence, Vol. 2, Chap. 14; Coe, Education in Religion and Morals, Chap. 15; discussion of religious Education by Profs. Coe, Starbuck and Dewey, Relig. Educ. Assoc. '03, p. 44 *et seq.*

[2] John Dewey, Religious Education Association '03 p. 64. E. E. Hale, Forum, Vol. 10 pp. 70–71; Davenport, *op. cit.* Chap. 15.

[3] Coe, Education in Religion and Morals, Chap. 18; Hall, *op. cit.*, pp. 422 *et seq.*

homiletics will be no more essential than psychology and sociology.[1] If a denominational label or even the name "church" erects barriers to human good he will fling them aside in favor of the primitive ideal of groups of people of a way of life striving for personal and social betterment. At all events, nothing permanent and vital will be done until each community can focus its needs and meaning in individuals filled with what, for want of a better name, may be termed the socialized attitude — for these speak with authority and not as the Scribes and Pharisees.

[1] *Cf.* Robert A. Woods, Social Work · A New Profession, Inter. Jour. Ethics, Vol. 16, pp. 25–39.

THE CONCEPTION OF GOD OF COLLEGE STUDENTS

A STUDY IN RELIGIOUS PSYCHOLOGY[1]

By V. P. ROBINSON

The following article aims at no thorough and systematic empirical treatment of the conception of God, but is merely a discussion of some questions raised and some conclusions suggested by a study of 1,000 answers to a questionnaire on this subject circulated among college (922 answers) and normal school (78 answers) students, 97 per cent. of whom were between 18 and 23 years of age. These students have had no more than one semester's work in psychology and philosophy, and nothing bearing particularly upon this question. The following points will be discussed with illustrations drawn from the answers.

1. The essential nature of the religious idea of God. It is a pragmatic not a logical concept, as evidenced by the varieties of conceptions, by contradictions within the conceptions, by lack of concern for logical proof.

2. The varieties of the needs which contribute to the formation of the concept. There is no specific desire at the root of the god-concept. Any need may, under certain conditions, seek satisfaction in the religious object.

I. It is important to discriminate at the outset between the conceptions of God as elaborated by theologians and philosophers and those of the ordinary man. The former aims at logical consistency; the latter at practical results. The primary concern of the psychologist is with the concept as it appears in the life of the religious person, *i. e.*, as a means of satisfying his needs and developing his tendencies.

Edward Caird in his "Evolution of Christianity"[2] says, "Moderns cannot accept any but a universal religion. They cannot believe in a Divine Power who is without and not within man, within man and not

[1] When writing this paper the author was member of a Seminar at Bryn Mawr College in which were treated certain phases of the psychology of religion, and in particular the topic of the present paper. The answers from college students upon which it is based were communicated to her by Professor Leuba.

[2] Vol. II, p. 68.

without him." This would be approximately true, perhaps, at any rate among college students of about the same degree of culture and intellect, if the conception of God were matter of logical thought, but that it is based upon something else than reason is proved by the fact that the concepts show the greatest diversity varying through all forms from anthropomorphism to naturalism. Some conceive God as separate from us, in no relation with us, others recognize him to be working for us and in us against opposing forces of nature.

I take the following examples from students in the same class in the same university, knowing and learning in general the same things.

Case 1. (E., 21.) Age 21, Male. "I think of God as the perfect being living somewhere in the distance, surrounded by a company of the blest. He is all-powerful but withal magnanimous. I think of him as real, actual, skin and blood and bones, something we shall see with our eyes some day."

Case 2. (E., 53.) Age 18½, Male. "I do not think of God under any image whatsoever. It seems to me that God is not to be comprehended by the senses. He is an all-pervading spirit or soul of which our individual souls are parts. The world Soul or universe Soul, God, is not limited by time, space, etc., has no shape, size, form, and, therefore, can be conceived only by reason."

Not only does the conception vary from person to person, but in the same person from mood to mood, as the following examples show most strikingly.

Case 3. (A., 23.) Age 19, Female. "God is a presence daily near, yet always, where reason comes in, far away beyond reach."

Case 4. (C., 80.) Male. Defines God as personal, then adds: "In melancholy moments, when I think hardest, God loses all personality and becomes an indefinite force."

Case 5. (B., 11, 1906.) Female. Has two conceptions: impersonal, the Being we arrive at logically answers the demand of men for a spirit greater than they, and personal, "the God to whom I go for help."

Case 6. (B., 37, 1906.) Female. "Ordinarily the image of God is gray and formless. In prayer, the face of Dore's Christ, which does not speak but prompts something in me to words." Note in this example the effect of the emotional attitude in making vivid, real and powerful an otherwise vague image.

Case 7. (B.) Age 22, Female. "In an agitated frame of mind I think of God as a personal father who is ready to reward or punish, but generally I think of God as a mass of forces, having certain effects following from certain causes, the force that causes us to do good, brings with it its own reward and *vice versa.* If I thought that God did not exist it would affect me only in a moment of distress."

Case 8. (P.) Female. "I think of God sometimes as a personal being, and at times as an impersonal one. The conception differs according to the state of my feelings. For instance, when I am perplexed by some distressing occurrence, and feel the need of some kind of counsel, my conception of God, my appeal to

him, is as to a personal being. On the other hand, when I am out in the woods, and see a beautiful landscape, or an unusual sunset, my concept of God is impersonal. I think of God then as a great power, of no definite shape or size, with none of the attributes of a being."

It may be objected that in some of these instances the student was merely expressing one aspect of God, and that in another mood he would have described a different but not necessarily contradictory side of his nature. Admitting this possibility in Case 8, let me quote an instance in which the contradiction is definitely stated, clearly recognized, and unmistakably disregarded.

Case 9. (E., 12.) Age 20, Male. "I have thought nothing about the impersonal phase of God's nature. I should call an impersonal being one who is more or less unmoved by entreaties or prayers, and who allows all things to go on in a certain method or scheme of existence without turning aside to help something or some creature which has fallen out of line. But knowing as little as I do of the two sides, the personal and impersonal, I should always rely upon the personal nature of God to bring me through."

Frequently the student has not thought about the matter sufficiently to be aware of the contradiction in his ideas. It is not uncommon to find God imaged as a King in Heaven with bodily form, yet when use is made of him, he is described as "near me." Let me insist upon the fact that where there is a contradiction in the concept, whether or not it is observed by the student, it seems a matter of little concern. There is seldom any attempt to reconcile the two views or to decide which is the true one.

The contradictions and their causes come out more clearly in an analysis of the concepts on the basis of three classes of descriptive terms of which they are made up. (a) Imaginative terms, *i. e.*, images of any kind, visual, auditory, etc. (b) Metaphysical terms, *i. e.*, abstract qualities which a logical concept of a superior being must possess, such as infinity, omnipotence, etc. (c) Practical terms, *i. e.*, terms expressive of God's relation to the individual such as Father, Friend, Saviour, and the like.

a. The image is most frequently described as visual and said to be gained in childhood from Sunday school pictures, church windows, madonnas, etc. More rarely, a symbol such as flame, sphere, cloud, represents God. The following table shows the great variety in these images. It includes all the answers from a class of 93 (female) college students (A., 1906).

No Image.	Christ as in Art	God as in Art.	God as Man or with Face.	God as King on Throne.	Miscellaneous.	
39	8	9	20	5	Cloud	4
					All-Seeing eye	1
					Sacred heart	1
					Soft moss	
					Woodland face	1
					Pillar of light	1
					Woman ("degrading")	1
					Patriarch, Immense voice, Soft wind	1
					Changing image	2
					Total	12

Usually the student distinguishes between reality and image, and states that the image probably does not correctly represent reality. Of the cases quoted above only ten seem to think that the image corresponds to reality, for the rest it is merely a convenient symbol.

In regard to visual images, however, the majority either state that they have no image, or where the childish image still persists through habit, scorn it as inadequate and degrading. The minority retain and make use of an image, a few, because they fail to discriminate between image and reality, others, because the image makes the concept more vivid and personal. Of the appended cases, 11 is an instance of the former attitude, and 12 of the latter.

Case 11. (A., 69.) Female. "My first image of God is seen against my will and quite instinctively; invariably the figure of a white-robed figure. I think it is a woman,—the expression of the face is feminine — with lacerated brow and hands and feet. I know that this image is due to the wickedly distorted imagination of my childish training in religion. It is wrong, untrue, degrading. The image, which in my better moments I can successfully form of God, is a different thing but so indefinite I can hardly describe it."

Case 12. (A., 26.) Age 18, Female. "It makes God seem more real and present to think of him as possessing human form."

b. We turn now to the second type of descriptive terms, metaphysical attributes. It is advisable to warn ourselves again against the common error of ascribing to the religious consciousness in general the degree of lucid complexity attained in fact only by a few thinkers. When metaphysical terms occur in the description it is necessary to note how far they are intellectual conceptions, properly understood and applied, and how far they are merely conventional terms accepted blindly, without being understood or used. Take, for instance, the use of the words 'personal' and 'impersonal.' Probably no words are more commonly used in describing God, so we might expect some uniformity of meaning, but the definitions given for 'personal' are as varied as possible, *e. g.*, that which is "composed of body and flesh"; that which has "life, thought, and feeling"; that which "touches my life"; the "individual as opposed to ideal"; "one easily imagined"; one "finite", or possessing "definiteness". For some, omnipresent means throughout life and nature; for others, no more than 'near me.' Had they been asked to define 'infinite', 'omnipotent', and other words which they use so readily, we might have expected a like variety of answers.

When the term is more than conventional and more than a vague striving to give verbal form to a sense of something inexpressible and incomprehensible, it expresses a certain relation to the individual at that particular time. The omnipotent God is the God who has the power to do a certain thing the individual wishes at the time.

c. This last remark brings us to the third class of terms, in which we find the essential element of the concept. God is described as "directly interested in me", as "Friend", "Comforter", "Sympathetic Father". It is in this class of attributes, which marks not the nature of God in himself, but his relation to the individual, that the value of the religious concept lies. The logical indefiniteness and the inconsistency of the concept do not preclude firmness and definiteness of belief in the existence of the religious agent. Nothing could be more absolute than the assurance, at least during the religious moments, of the existence of a Being able and willing under certain circumstances to harken to man's cry of distress, or of a Force with which one can enter into sympathetic, helpful relation.

Case 13. (N. Y.) (Age 27, female, student and teacher,) declares that until two months ago when her mother died she was sceptical and rationalistic, now "I

have a vague feeling of something which I think is the basis of a religious conception of God. It is not personal or even a being in the ordinary sense ; it is a feeling, an impression, made by something that I cannot examine or analyze. It disappears when I try to formulate it. I have no image of God. I realize that I cannot think without some image, but I do not care about it. However, I will admit that when I am feeling about it, I have a vague impression of darkness and questioning, which I think typifies not my God but my attitude towards something. I open my eyes and part my lips and hold back every nerve, waiting as I do in a strange place in the dark. My mind is blank till I come back and realize my position. I feel differently at such times than at others."

Case 14. (B., 69, 1906.) Female. "In defining God one can't conceive of him but merely feel his presence." No attempt is made by this person to describe him or give his attributes, yet she seems to make great use of him, for she says "without him there would be no right or wrong," and again "one thinks more truly when reflecting as if in his presence."

Case 15. (C., 31.) Male. "I have never given the matter of personal and impersonal God serious attention, but on thinking a few moments my answer must be indefinite. My two views of God involve contradictions. First, I always associate the masculine pronoun with God, not so much for reason of his power and strength, but it seems to me as if he really were a man. And when I regard God as Creator and ruler, he is distinctly personal. But, on the other hand, when I believe man works out his own salvation, or otherwise, that the nature of things makes them so, and things need no superior mind to direct them, then God appears to me impersonal." With this vague and dual account of God's nature is coupled this statement as to the effect of his non-existence. "If it were distinctly shown me that there were no God, existence would lose all interest for me. I should be as a man standing in the quicksand, my life would be without an end."

As further proof that the vagueness and indefiniteness of the conception is no hindrance to its usefulness, take this admission.

Case 16. (C., 80.) Male. "The very uncertainty and indefiniteness of one's conception of God is what makes the daily life worth doing, and puts meaning into everyday happenings."

These illustrations are, I think, sufficient to bear out the conclusion that God is not primarily a logical concept; that in religion the test of truth is the pragmatic satisfaction of desire. For the ordinary person God is real and true in proportion as he is useful in securing certain advantages and assistance. To understand the full significance of the concept it is necessary to turn aside from the futile attempts to express the inner nature of God himself, for the concern in religion is almost exclusively with the relation of the individual to the religious object. Let us turn, then, to the discovery of the needs and tendencies which necessitate the concept.

II. For the sake of convenience let us divide the needs more frequently expressed in these answers into three classes:

1. Need for explanations.
2. Need for righteousness.
3. Need for sympathy.

In examining these it should appear, whether the religious need is any one or a compound of these, or something else.

The desire for explanations may mean the desire for knowledge; the attitude is then one of curiosity and inquiry. Or it may mean a revolt against the painful state of consciousness occasioned by uncertainty and conflicting possibilities. In this case the desire is to bring peace by the unification of the mental contents. This is often done by referrring all things to an ultimate ground of explanation, the attitude is then one of passive acceptance rather than of active inquiry. The spirit of inquiry is, of course, the basis of the scientific and philosophic attitudes; when it is the exclusive motive the concept of God remains outside of the religious sphere as in the following instance.

Case 17. (C., 30.) Male. "God is the natural power controlling the laws of the universe, merely a form of speech representing the image or conception I have of the unknown. Interferes in no way in human affairs. His non-existence would make no difference to me."

Here the name of God is still retained to cover the unexplained, the unknown, but it is then set aside as something with which one need have no concern. All such concepts must be thrown aside as non-religious.

Case 18. (B., 54, 1906.) Female. "Without God I would be in a state of confusion, disturbance, unrest, for God explains strange things." What is wanted by this person is not knowledge but the peace arising from an absence of opposition between the meaning or the nature of things. This desire for peace and unity is not at bottom a need for explanations but rather a need for unity of consciousness; it leads to a religious, not a philosophic, attitude. These two attitudes, the religious and the philosophic, very often occur in close succession in the same individual. He may seek help from God one moment and the next ask if and how he exists. Behind the desire for knowledge may lurk a secret desire for comfort and assistance, and, on the other hand, the desire for knowledge may at any time acquire sufficient intensity in the religious man to arrest the use which is being made of the religious object.

2. The need for righteousness is so prominent in modern civilization that in the mind of some the search for righteousness is mistakenly identified with religion. We hear religion defined as "morality touched with emotion."

Now in relation to the ethical need, God may be conceived first as

God of righteousness existing in the world, as in *Case 22*, or as the sense of right and wrong in us, as in *Case 23*.

Case 19. (B., 35, 1906.) Female. "God is the highest perfection, all-knowing, all-wise. . . His non-existence would mean the non-existence of hope, of any reason for preferring good to evil."

Case 20. (C., 60.) Male. "God is the immanent, all-pervading spirit of good and order, . . It is hardly possible to conceive of his non-existence, but it would not affect my life if it were so."

In the following examples, morality is furthered by a love of God.

Case 21. (C., 75.) Male. "God means everything to me in moral struggles."

Case 22. (A., 54.) Female. "Morality alone would not be sufficient for inspiration and guidance in daily life."

Case 23. (B., 56, 1906.) Female. "Trust in God keeps me from worrying and makes me happy and better."

Case 24. (B., 64, 1906.) Female. "God is a constant support for the immediate task. Without him I could not live."

In other instances the motive is a lower one, namely, fear of God's wrath as in *Cases 25* and *26*.

Case 25. (C., 44.) Male. "If God had not existed for me, I should have been a law-breaker and a criminal. Now if my belief should change I might pass beyond control."

Case 26. (A., 54.) Female. "One does not do certain things on account of a fear of God and punishment. Without him there would be a feeling of irresponsibility in one's actions."

Case 27. (C. 24.) Male, makes the interesting remark that "Very few people ask 'would God do this' before acting, but ask his pardon afterwards. Without God to pardon the effect would be disastrous."

3. The need for sympathy, for love, plays a great part in determining the religious object. 'God is love'; many ask for no further knowledge of him. Neither can it be doubted that this need is frequently satisfied outside of religion. One student says, "If there were no God I should seek more sympathy from my friends." But when adequate human objects of love are wanting, the religious object is made use of. In support of this, take this statement.

Case 28. (E., 45.) Male. "Some people apparently go through life without bothering about any God. Some one says: 'Is he necessary after all?' The answer is that such happy-go-lucky people know not the needs of human nature; their wills are out of conformity with the Logos. Every one who is ever brought face to face with trouble realizes man's need, and striving after God, and almost to a man, these people in misfortune, I think, turn (themselves) to a personal God."

It must not be supposed that the three needs mentioned are the only ones to appear in religion but these were selected for treatment because they were predominant in the student's conceptions. It must now be evident that the religious object exists in relation to no one need to the exclusion of others, but may exist in relation to any need which fails to find adequate satisfaction in other departments of life. The need for religion is secondary; there is no special religious faculty. Religion exists from a need to exercise and develop more fully any one of the primary tendencies, the use of which has been in any way interefered with or restricted.

It would be difficult to say to what extent the religious object has proved efficient in satisfying the demands put upon it, but it will be possible, I think, from the data in hand to form some idea of the worth of the concept of God to these students. The error will lie rather on the side of overestimation of the value of God to the individual, for the student when called upon to give his idea of God, will naturally take it at its highest value to him and not at the lowest or average value; he will describe God as he exists for him when most conscious of his presence, when most needed and most used.

In Table II the number of personal and impersonal conceptions is tabulated, not according to the student's own verbal statements, for "personal" is differently defined in almost every answer, but on the basis of a uniform interpretation of personal as possessed of will, feeling and intellect.

TABLE II.

Of Personal and Impersonal Conceptions.

						Personal Shape.		
Sex.	Total.	Personal.	Impers.	Both.	Doubtful.	Symbol.	Reality.	Doubt.
M.	290	163	89	9	28	86	20	7
Per ct. of M.		56%	31%			30%	9%	
F.	640	524	73	14	27	166	43	14
Per ct. of F.		82%	11%			40%	10%	
	930	687	162	23	55	252	63	21

But a belief in a personal God is, so to speak, in the air, and many describe a personal God, but evince no need and make no apparent use of it. If we would know the value of God to these students, the first table should be correlated with statistics compiled from the answers to the questions, "What effect would the non-existence of God have upon your daily life?"

For some the non-existence of God would mean, according to their own statement, the non-existence of all morality and happiness. Some would not wish to live. Others, who at times feel strongly the necessity of God, admit that at other times it would make no difference. For these the religious force has only an intermittent existence. The universe is to them most of the time Godless! Now and then, suddenly, a kaleidoscopic change takes place, and God is felt hovering about and filling the air with his presence.

Let me quote a few examples of this intermittent use of God.

Case 35. (E., 12.) Male. "Usually I think little of him—at other times I turn to him for support."

Case 36. (E., 17.) Male. "With good health and comforts I might get along pretty well without him. But in trouble and despair I know he will satisfy a want nothing else can satisfy."

Case 37. (A., 29.) Female. "It would make no difference [the non-existence of God] so long as I was in good health and had plenty of work of the kind I liked."

Case 38. (B., 58, 1906.) Female. "There are days when it would make no difference. At other times there would be a great emptiness without him."

In compiling Table III the students' own statements were accepted without reinterpretation. Yet in drawing conclusions from these statistics it must be remembered that the + + column is probably too large, and the o column too small. When brought suddenly face to face with the question of God's non-existence — a question frequently never considered before—the natural tendency is to exaggerate the effect which would be produced. If questioned further the student would probably admit that the effect of God's non-existence would be intermittent. Frequently, too, starting from an idea of God as in some way controlling the world, they state logical inferences and not the actual effect in their own lives.

The point to which we return in conclusion is that Religion is *primarily* a means, not an end in itself, one of the means by which man secures more life, escapes trials, solaces pain. Since about 70

TABLE III.

Effect of Non-Existence of God on Practical Life.

O = No effect.
++ = Great effect.
± = Slight or intermittent effect.
? = Doubtful.

Sex.	Total.	O	++	±	?
M.	290	93	140	26	31
Per cent. of M.		33%	50%	9%	
F.	563	94	406	33	29
Per cent. of F.		15%	72%	6%	

In these tables it is interesting to note the greater number of women than men who profess a sense of dependence on a personal God.

per cent. profess belief in a personal God and 61 per cent. such dependence upon him that life without him would be difficult, if not unbearable, the statistics would seem to bear out to some degree the popular belief in the efficiency of the Christian God. But theologians and religious leaders are to-day facing the problem of a marked decline in this efficiency. Other means to attain the ends to which Religion ministers have so multiplied that the religious means has no longer supreme value. If Religion is to maintain its usefulness, it must develop a greater intrinsic merit and must make a wider and truer appeal.

A better understanding of the true nature of Religion would lead to a discrimination between subjective and objective judgments in this connection and would at least make it impossible that the religion of the practical man—a purely personal and practical thing—be given out as universal and absolute.

LITERATURE.

The Psychology of Jesus. By ALBERT WELLMAN HITCHCOCK. The Pilgrim Press, Boston, 1908. pp. 279.

This work is a dissertation at Clark University published by the author's wife after his death, with a preface by G. Stanley Hall under whom the work was done. The first part discusses the environment of Jesus: the literature behind his life ; the theology of the Jews ; the world-view — Jewish, Greek, Roman ; the social atmosphere of Palestine. In this part the author has availed himself of much of the important literature that has contributed so much to fill the gap in our knowledge of the century in which and before which Jesus appeared. The second part is entitled "The Development of Jesus" and treats of the youth of Jesus, the temptation, the kingdom of God, the Messianic titles, Jesus as a teacher, the miracles and his attitude toward them, his death and resurrection as He regarded them ; the psychological approach to Jesus. The purely spiritual interpretation which the author gives of the miracles, of rising from the dead, of the nativity, and of Jesus' resurrection will strike many conservative minds as too progressive. For him discussion of these events as literary occurrences is of slight consequence or interest. They embody, however, great truths and represent profound and unique tendencies and laws of the action of the folk-soul. The psychological problem is how to account for the acceptance of the belief in such stupendous marvels, despite their inherent improbability, if not impossibility. It is precisely this problem that has been till recently persistently ignored. Suppose all these events to actually occur to-day in the presence of a dozen of the most competent witnesses that could be selected, who vouched for them in every way possible. There would still be a problem of great interest how the practical, scientific mind of man could accept this testimony and believe in the reality of events, which contravene all our conceptions of natural law, and which the mind of man disciplined in this field unmistakably tends to evict from its deeper consciousness.

Jesus im Urteil der Jahrhunderte. By GUSTAV PFANNMÜLLER. Teubner, Leipzig, 1908. pp. 555.

This author has compiled scores of characterizations of Jesus from the Apostles down. He is presented as described or conceived by gnostics, Alexandrians, Aryans, Athanesians, scholastics, reformers, pietists, philosophers, psychologists, mystics, and all the rest. There are very many poet characterizations and a dozen pictures of Jesus. The point of view of the chief modern myths of Jesus is represented and there is a large anthology of hymns. It all shows, as the writer concludes, an amazing variety of points of view ; — how every age, race, and almost every writer and painter has had his own Christ. It is deplorable that the type is so fine and wretched.

Sunday. By W. B. TREVELYAN. Longmans, Green and Co., New York, 1903. pp. 307.

The writer first treats the early and then the later history of Sunday, its observance in modern days, the principles that should regulate this observance discussing later worship, rest and service. The work contains various notes on Sunday laws and an interesting appendix of illustrative literature.

The Sabbath for Man. By W. F. Crafts. International Reform Bureau, Washington, D. C. pp. 672.

This is a study of the origin, obligations, history, advantages, and present state of Sabbath observance, with special reference to the rights of working men. It seems to us almost reprehensible that there is no date on the title-page and that it is impossible to tell how much the book has been revised in its later editions. It is a comprehensive and valuable contribution to the subject but does not make use of the small but choice experimental data as to effects of Sunday work which bear directly upon the author's chief assumption that, without the seventh day rest, the human system deteriorates. The author makes a great point that in savage lands Sunday is not observed, and leads us to infer that that is one cause why people remain savage.

Propädeutik der Psychiatrie für Theologen und Pädagogen. Von Heinrich Schlöss. Heinrich Kirsch, Vienna, 1908. pp. 120.

This is a course of lectures by a psychiatrist for clergymen and is vouched for by Schwoboda, Professor of Psychiatry at Vienna and a papal prelate. The writer tells intending clergymen in successive chapters the main characteristics of melancholia, hypochondriac mania, periodic insanity, religious madness, querulent delusions, the insanity of drunkards, of epileptics, hystericals, imbeciles and idiots, morphinism, cocainism, imperative ideas, sex abnormality, the nervous and psychic troubles of childhood, degenerate children, the care of the insane. A lecture is given to each one of these topics. Such a course cannot be too highly commended; something like it should be given in every theological seminary. Some would raise the question whether the old classifications, which have been so radically changed for experts, should be retained; but even this perhaps is wise since these are the popular designations.

The Unfolding Life—a Study of Development with Reference to Religious Training. By Antoinette Abernethy Lamoreaux. Religious Publishing Co., Chicago, 1907. pp. 188.

Life is not plastic clay to be moulded, a block of marble to be hewn, or a pure, white page; the child is not a little man, but it is greatly in need of direction and guidance from within outward. The cradle age should be surrounded by religious influences, in childhood there should be a normal development of interests with due reference to imitation, imagination, and memory. The feelings should be cultivated by religious song but there should be no precocity. The writer suggests certain historic facts and bible lessons for this stage. And so she goes on to childhood from six to twelve and from nine to twelve, to early, middle, and late adolescence. Of the author's own piety and orthodoxy there can be no doubt whatever; and as Marion Lawrence, who writes the introduction, says, the book is well named, well written and well timed; but, alas, for students of childhood if this is the best that can be said upon this important theme. Why will such authors not read and study a little when the field is so rich, so as to command at least the respect of those who are intelligent in this field?

Freedom and Fellowship in Religion. International Council, Boston, n. d. pp. 651.

This volume contains the proceedings and the papers of the fourth international congress of religious liberals, held at Boston, September 22-27, 1907, with fifty-five portraits.

The Foundations of Belief. By ARTHUR JAMES BALFOUR. 9th impression. Longmans, Green & Co., New York, 1906. pp. 399.

This ninth edition has little new matter save a few explanatory notes but there is a convenient summary of the argument and a new preface in which the author attempts to defend himself from the criticism that he finds any doubt in the foundation of belief and justifies an excess of credulity by an excess of skepticism. The main discussion, it will be remembered, states some consequences of belief, tracing naturalism in ethics, æsthetics and reason. Then he gives reasons for belief, its philosophic basis, idealism, rationalism, orthodoxy, then the causes of belief and finally suggestions toward a provisional philosophy.

Psychologie d'une religion. Par G. REVAULT D'ALLONNES. Fèlix Alcan, Paris, 1908. pp. 289. (Bibliothèque de philosophie contemporaine.)

The first part is entitled "Psychology of a modern Christ", and characterizes Guillaume Monod. The second consists of his insanity from the standpoint of medicine and theology. The third describes ancient and modern messiahs analogous to his, especially ancient and modern Jewish, Mussulman and Christian messianism. The second part is entitled "The Psychology of a Prophetic Sect" and deals with the Monodistic doctrine, its prophets, disciples and cults. Finally, certain other prophetic movements, ancient and modern, are compared to these. Altogether it is a unique and valuable contribution to the study of religious psychology.

The New Schaff-Herzog Encyclopedia of Religious Knowledge. Funk & Wagnalls Co., New York, 1908. Vol I.

This is based on the third edition of the well-known Herzog encyclopedia which employed more than six hundred specialists ; but the idea is to revise it to date. It will be complete in twelve volumes at five dollars per volume in cloth ; and the total will aggregate about six thousand pages.

Das Christentum. Von C. CORNILL, E. v. DOBSCHÜTZ, W. HERRMANN, W. STAERK, & E. TROELTSCH. Quelle & Meyer, Leipzig, 1908. pp 164.

These five writers discuss respectively: the popular religion of Israelites under the prophets ; the relations between Judaism and Hellenism, between Hellenism and Christianity ; Luther and the modern world ; the religious question of the present. It is a meaty book by various experts, but the print is atrociously fine and in bad German type.

Psychologie der Frömmigkeit. Von THEODOR KAPPSTEIN. Heinsius Nachfolger, Leipzig, 1908. pp. 242.

This writer here discusses seven parallels beginning with the soul masseur. He gathers certain curiosities of the pulpit and of some abnormal pietistic natures and studies hymn books, and quaint sects including the Salvation Army. Prayers for health and for the sick, deaconesses, child piety, relation of piety to nature, animals, art, public life, and psychopathic piety. The book makes little pretence to be systematic or scientific, and the author's reading has not lain so much within the field of religious psychology as of general literature.

Studien zur Hebräischen Archäologie und Religionsgeschichte. Von RUDOLPH KITTEL. J. C. Hinrich, Leipzig, 1908. pp. 242.

The author collects various recent monographs, first of the holy rock upon Mt. Moria and its history. In this he describes the rock itself, its history, the rôle it played in the Crusades and under the influence of Islam and then reverts to its story

in the earlier times of David, Solomon from Titus to Justinian. The second monograph discusses the primitive rock altar, and its deity and under this he treats of Gideon, Manoah, blood, the stone of slaughter, the idea of God in Canaan, the form of the altar, the altar for burnt offerings. In the third monograph he treats of the serpent stone in Kidrontal in the valley of Sidron near Jerusalem. Beginning with the Story of Salomo and Adonia, he traces the history of the various assemblages, describes the fountain of Noah, the dragon rocks, and the fourth treats of the great artificial pool of Solomon's temple, the Cyprian implements of the rites here celebrated, its ornamentation, etc.

Beiträge zur Einleitung in das neue Testament. Von Adolph Harnack. 111. Die Apostelgeschichte. J. C. Hinrich, Leipzig, 1908. pp. 225.

This is a technical work prefaced by an introduction giving a general characterization of apostolic history. The first chapter is devoted to chronology in which the author attempts to make as many connections as possible with contemporary history elsewhere. In this way and by the use of the date of certain festivals he is able to give a certain greater definiteness and consistency to chronology. The next chapter is devoted to the movements, people, cities and houses. One of the most interesting chapters is on miracles and the operations of the Holy Ghost together with the ascension of Jesus. There is constant discussion of the sources and their value and much correction of errors. The book ends with five different "excursions" of a technical nature.

Religion in Greek Literature. Ry Lewis Campbell. Longmans, Green & Co., New York, 1898. pp. 423.

After dealing with the antecedents and survivals in the earliest Greek period, the author discusses the religion of the Iliad, the Odyssey, of Hesiod and then passes to the period of transition and hero worship treating the Dorian States and the beginnings of philosophy. He then discusses Pinda, Herodotus, the effects of the Prussian War upon the Greek religion and the transition toward the Athenian Period and the Athenian worships of Zeus, Apollo, Poseidon and other heroes public and private are then dealt with. The mysteries have a single chapter and another is devoted to the Attic religion in the earlier fifth century. The subsequent chapters deal with philosophy and skepticism, especially with Socrates, Plato and Aristotle.

Nova Solyma, or Jerusalem Regained, an anonymous romance written in the time of Chas. I, now first drawn from obscurity, and attributed to the illustrious John Milton, with introduction, trans., literary essay and bibliography, by Rev. Walter Begley. 2 vols. John Murray, London, 1902.

This most extraordinary book, which many believe to have been written by John Milton, whose educational ideas it certainly strangely coincides with, is a romance of a hero, who returns to the ideal city, Nova Solyma, with friends and after many adventures. The successive chapters describe the training of children, the structure of an ideal city, the houses, gardens merchants' exchange, and so forth. Interspersed are discourses on poetry, symbolism, religion, statecraft, with various ideal ecstasies and love episodes, much of which bears a more or less symbolic character. In the second volume, ideals of college lectures are given, there are treatises on honor as opposed to students' duels. There are great pageants, ecstasies, theories of love, marriage, songs, hymns, discourses on the sabbath, how to grow in grace, explanations of what a well-regulated mind consists of, the higher love of the soul showing forth. Whether Milton wrote this work or not it is

certainly interspersed with much excellent poetry, both in English and in Latin, and the writer certainly was a scholar remarkably well trained in not only the learning of his day, but in that of all previous times. As a whole, it is a remarkable pedagogical treatise regarding almost every important element of life from the educational point of view.

Science and a Future Life. H. B. Turner, Boston, 1905. 372 p. *Enigmas of Psychical Research*, 1906. 427 p. *Psychical Research and the Resurrection*, 1908. 409 p.

James H. Hyslop, Ph. D., LL.D., former professor of ethics and logic in Columbia University, has lately written three books which constitute on the whole, perhaps, the most philosophical apology that has ever appeared, at least in English, for spiritism or for the belief in the reality of discarnate souls which persist after death. Along with Dr. Hyslop's books two more should be mentioned which approach the subject from a somewhat different point of view, one by Herward Carrington, "The Physical Phenomena of Spiritualism," Boston, 1908, 426 p., and the other by David P. Abbott, "Behind the Scenes of Mediums," 1907, 328 p. To begin with the last book, its author is an expert in tricks and his book is chiefly an explanation of how various mediumistic performances are done. We are told a number of different ways of, for instance, reading sealed letters, causing raps, making a box light and heavy, pendulums swinging out, will tests behind a curtain, trick envelopes, flower materialization, etc. More space is given to slate writing and billet tests than to anything else. It is amazing to see how very many methods conjurers, mediums, and others have devised of producing writings under conditions which seem to the spectator impossible. For instance, where the sitter brings his own slates which do not leave his eye or his hand. Mr. Abbott is a very clever performer himself, has visited very many mediums and exposed their fraudulent methods.

Mr. Carrington divides his book into two parts, first the exposure of fraudulent methods of producing raps, table tipping, slate writing, rope tying, spirit posts, sacks, handcuffs, holding tests, photography, paraffine work, mind reading, etc. This occupies the first 312 pages of his book. The remainder, however, is devoted to what he believes to be genuine phenomena of spiritism. Among these he reckons telekinesis, the mediumship of home, especially his levitation, elongation and fire tests, and the case of Mrs. Piper. Dr. Hyslop in the first of the above books, which is dedicated to Dr. Richard Hodgson, gives a short sketch of the origin of psychic research, its problems, results, those of a future life, story of the Piper case, the English report and that of Hodgson, with his own personal experiments characterizing a telepathic and spiritistic hypothesis and stating the difficulties and objections and the conditions which affect communication, with a final chapter on the ethical meaning and results. The second volume is devoted to an account of ancient oracles, crystal vision and gazing, telepathy, dreams, apparitions, clairvoyance, premonitions and mediumistic phenomena, while the third describes certain humorous aspects of the subjects, discusses coincidences, characterizing and criticising Flournoy's "From India to the Planet Mars," gives visions of the dying, gives accounts of his own experiments with Mrs. Piper since Hodgson's death, together with experiments relating to him, describes the Smead case, certain mediumistic phenomena, and lastly tells us something of the nature of life after death and the relations of psychical research to the resurrection. Dr. Hyslop finds in the new, supernormal facts "the dawn of another day for an idealism that will last as long

as telepathic method can claim respect;" "the academic world is blind to the needs of the hour and has isolated itself in aristocratic seclusion from the life of those who are ruling the tendencies of the future." He believes that at death our souls are borne into the next life more or less dull, or at any rate confused, and that in their normal state spirits have great difficulty in communicating with us at all. It is hard for spirits to establish their identity because their memory, which is its conditions, is somewhat imperfect. Their transcendental world he thinks is not bound to laws of time and space. They are like one who has only a sense of vision trying to communicate with those who have only touch. No wonder, then that they do not give us very valuable information about the world in which they live.

For ourselves, although it is often utterly impossible to explain if one is present many of the things called spiritistic that happen, it is still more so to explain second hand reports of them. After eliminating, however, all that tricks, conscious and unconscious, can do, the innumerable betrayals of us by our automatic nature and above all, after making due discount for the marvels and subtleties of the unconscious soul, revelations of which are now being made in the study of hypnotism and hysteria, fuges and phenomena of that class, the probabilities against the spiritistic hypothesis seem to us to be overwhelming.

The Collection of Jewish Ceremonial Objects in the United States National Museum, by CYRUS ADLER and I. M. CASANOWICZ. From Proceedings of the National Museum, Vol. XXXIV, pp. 701-746. Government Printing Office, Washington, 1908.

The regents of the Smithsonian Institution, at its very origin, in 1847, planned a comprehensive programme of all departments of knowledge, and especially mentioned religions as one of the subjects suitable for museum collections. During the course of years, objects pertaining to religious cults formed a considerable part of the series. The severely geographical classification was abandoned, and some subjects are arranged to show the history of well-marked ideas. In 1890 again the question of treatment of religion was discussed, but there was doubt whether ideas which grouped themselves about this word could be adequately or fairly portrayed through ceremonial objects, however numerous; but inquiry was instituted abroad as well as at home and it was found that the museums of Europe, while ready to accept illustrations of the religious principles of semi-civilized and barbarous nations, were slow to treat those of the more civilized, contemporary peoples. It was finally, however, decided to treat Judaism, Christianity and Mahometism first tentatively at the Chicago Exposition, Christianity being illustrated from Greek, Catholic and Armenian churches. Much interest was shown in this. Everything has been represented sympathetically, and the cults are shown by their furniture, appointments, costumes, implements, altars, ceremonials, special occasions like marriage, birth, betrothal, secret practices, etc. The Smithsonian now has the largest collection of Jewish ceremonial objects in the world, and this volume catalogues and describes them, with over a hundred plates by way of illustration.

Le Spiritisme dans ses Rapports avec la Folie, by MARCEL VIOLLET. Librairie Bloud & Cie., Paris, 1908. 117 p. (Bibliothèque de Psychologie expérimentale et de Métapsychie.)

This is a popular booklet which first describes the general theory of spirits or the philosophy of spiritism. Mediumship is characterized as neuropathic, and

some of those thought to be inspired are really insane. The author almost leads us to believe that some deliriums may be of spiritual origin, and divides phenomena into those due to spirits and those of natural origin.

Contribution ā la Pathologie des Mystiques, par FRANÇOIS DA COSTA GUIMARAËS. Jules Rousset, Paris, 1908. 52 p.

This series of publications characterizes the psychology of a series of eminent mystics in the past. The author begins with ancient times and is slowly working his way down to the present.

The Meitheis, by T. C. HODSON. David Nutt, London, 1908. 227 p.

This is a very interesting and original study of an East Indian people, who have hitherto been little known. It treats their habitat, distribution, dress, tattooing, occupations, modes of life, food, laws and customs, head-hunting, their worship of ancestors, ceremonies of birth, traditions and superstitions, and even gives the rudiments of a Meithei grammar.

A Theory of Mind, by JOHN LEWIS MARCH. Charles Scribner's Sons, New York, 1908. 453 p.

The author thinks that the great hope that biology will help psychology to become the chief of the philosophical disciplines has not been fulfilled and that the fault must be charged up against psychology, which needs to be broadened. This book has a theory of instincts that is designed to meet this situation and which it is hoped will open a way for solid and advanced discoveries. The work treats first of the similarity of instincts as elements in building up the mind, then treats material, personal and social instincts. From this point of view, he defines certain types.

Die Sage, von KARL WEHRHAN. Wilhelm Heims, Leipzig, 1908. 162 p.

After dealing with the history of popular sages and myths, their idea, ethics, origin, their migrations, the periodic recurrence, their history, and relations to mythology, the author passes to the discussion of plants and animals in Sage, with perhaps a score or more of the latter, which are given special attention. Then follows the form and organizations of Sage literature and their collections in thirty-four German centres and as many more elsewhere. The book is a very valuable *Vade mecum* for everybody interested in the subject, and the author has given great attention to the literature which is a conspicuous factor in every chapter.

Reformkatholische Schriften. Programm deritalienischen Modernisten. Jena, 1908, Eugen Diederichs, 204 p.

Antwort der französischen Katholiken an den Papst. Eugen Diederichs, Jena, 1908. 110 p.

These two pamphlets represent the remonstrance of the Italian and the French catholics respectively against not only the encyclical, but the new conservative programme adopted by Pope Pius the tenth in general.

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RELIGIOUS FOLK-SONGS OF THE SOUTHERN NEGROES[1]

BY HOWARD W. ODUM
Fellow in Psychology, Clark University.

To know the soul of a people and to find the source from which flows the expression of folk-thought is to comprehend in a large measure the capabilities of that people. To obtain the truest expression of the folk-mind and feeling is to reveal much of the inner-consciousness of a race. And the knowledge of those evidences which are most representative of race life constitutes the groundwork of a knowledge of social and moral tendencies, hence of social and moral needs. The student of race traits and tendencies must accept testimony from within the race, and in the study of race character the value of true expressions of the feelings and mental imagery cannot be overestimated. Thus it is possible to approximate knowledge of a race. To bring a people face to face with themselves and to place them fairly before the world is the first service that can be rendered in the solution of race problems.

To preserve and interpret the contributions of a people to civilization is to add to the science of folk-history. Posterity has often

[1]This paper presents in substance the contents of Chapters I and II of a study on "Negro Folk-Song and Character," with other chapters as follows: Chapter III, The Negro's Social and Secular Songs; Chapter IV, Types of Social Songs among the Negroes; Chapter V, Work Songs and Phrases; Chapter VI, The Negro's Mental Imagery; Chapter VII, Negro Character as Revealed in Folk-Songs and Poetry.

judged peoples without having so much as a passing knowledge of their inner life, while treasures of folk-lore and song, the psychic, religious, and social expression of the race, have been permitted to remain in complete obscurity. Likewise peoples have lived contemporaneously side by side, but ignorant of the treasures of folk-gems that lay hidden and wasting all about them. The heart and soul of the real people are unknown, science is deprived of a needed contribution, and the world is hindered in its effort to discover the full significance of the psychological, religious, social and political history of mankind. That which is distinctly the product of racial life and development deserves a better fate than to be blown away with changing environment, and not even remain to enrich the soil from which it sprang. Justice to the race and the scientific spirit demand the preservation of all interesting and valuable additions to the knowledge of folk-life. The successful study of the common development of the human intellect in primitive thought is thus advanced. The exact form of expression itself constitutes a contribution to knowledge and literature.

The value and importance of folk-lore are gladly recognized. Its successful study and a more comprehensive recognition of its worth have revealed new problems and new phases of thought. Not only its relation to civilization as an historical science and as it bears definitely upon peoples of modern cultural areas is recognized, but its essential value in the study of psychological, anthropological, and sociological conditions has called forth the most careful study that has been possible to give it. On the scientist's part, knowledge has been increased, while on the other hand, the peoples of the world have become more united in the appreciation of the kindred development of human thought. The vast contributions to folk-science and their relation to scientific interest, bear testimony to this truth. And perhaps even more with *folk-song*, a greater work is to be done. As a part of folk-lore it represents less of the traditional and more of the spontaneous. Its collection and study is now being pursued with more zeal and with marked success. And the hope may well be expressed that with the growing interest in folk-song may come an increased knowledge of all that is nearest and truest to the phyletic as well as the genetic concept of a people, and that with this knowledge may come effective efforts toward race adjustment and new aids in the solution of race problems.

The situation of the Southern negro is unique. His problems are peculiarly intricate. The problem of the relations between the whites and blacks is far-reaching. Social conditions are changing and it is of paramount importance that every step taken shall be well founded and in the right direction. The political, the social, and the economical position of the negro, his education, his religion, his tendencies—these are themes that demand definite and accurate comprehension above all else. Truths have too often been assumed. Passion and prejudice have often hindered the attainment of noble ends which were earnestly sought. A true knowledge of actual conditions, if properly set forth, must convince the sincere observer as to the proper relations which should exist between the two races. Nothing else should do it; nothing else can do it. And any evidences that will assist in fixing the real status of the negro should be welcomed by both the whites and the blacks; progress may then be encouraged from the proper starting point. In revealing much of what he *is* rather than what he *appears to be*, the folk-songs of the Southern negro are superior to any superficial study made from partial observations. The insight into negro character gained from their folk-songs and poetry accompanied by careful and exhaustive concrete social studies may be accepted as impartial testimony. And on the other hand, the changing economic and educational conditions, the increasing influence of the white man upon the negro, and the rapid progress that is being made on every hand in the South indicate that if the present-day folk-songs of the negro are to be preserved, they must be collected now. Should they be permitted to become a lost record of the race?

In the present work some of the popular songs that are current among the negroes of the Southern States are given. They are highly representative. They may be classified into two general divisions: The religious songs or spirituals, and the secular songs. The secular songs are again divided into two classes, the general social songs, and work-songs, phrases and "shanties". For the most part collections of negro folk-songs in the past have been limited to the old spirituals. The present-day religious songs and the social productions are equally interesting and valuable. The particular nature and characteristics of these songs are discussed in connection with the examples. They are flexible and have various forms, they consist of broken and unbroken melodies, they have stately and rapid minor cadences. Musical notes

can give only a skeleton of the real melody that accompanies the words; the peculiar qualification of the negro singers to render their melodies defies art to exactly symbolize it. The words of the songs are given as they are sung, and the reader must needs employ an imagination kindred in vividness to that which is reflected in the songs themselves if he would comprehend their essential qualities. The characteristic quality is often found in an improvised arrangement of words which makes the dominant feeling that of mingling words and cadencies successfully. The meaningless phrases and refrains do not hinder the expression of feeling through the minor chords. Simple emotion, inherent melody, and colloquial language are combined with fine and differentiating imagery and humor in an under-meaning common to the folk-song. An element of melancholia may be felt underlying many of the songs. But with all alike, vigor of expression, concreteness and naturalness of mental imagery, and simplicity of language and thought are combined with striking folk-art. The negro's projective mental imagery assumes that the hearer's comprehension can easily grasp the full picture of description, moral maxims, and dramatic dialogues, all combined in a single verse, and that he can do it without confusion. Here may be seen much of the naked essence of poetry with unrefined language which reaches for the negro a power of expression far beyond that which any modern refinement of language and thought may approach. Rhythm, rhyme, and the feeling of satisfaction are accompanying inherent qualities. The natural poetic spirit and the power of the imagination in the negro are worthy of study.

In addition to these general qualities of the negro folk-songs, it need only be suggested here that the best conception of his religious, moral, mental and social tendencies is reflected in them. That which the negro will not reveal concerning his religion, his religious songs tell better than he could possibly do. His social nature and unconscious ideals bubble out from his spontaneous social songs. In the expression of his natural feelings and emotions he gives us the reactions of his primitive thought with environment. That which is subsequently treated at length may be anticipated in the approach to a careful consideration of the fullest spirit of the negro folk-songs, namely, that it is important to note that the faculty of the negro to think, not exactly as the white man, or to think in terms of modern

science and literature, but in terms of his own psychological conditions, is pronounced. The negro is a part of a nation at the same time that he is a distinct people; he, perhaps, has more anthropological importance than historical standing. His present status is an essential consideration of each of these relations to the civilization of to-day. The emotions, the religion, social aspirations and ideals — in fine, the character of a people is accustomed to be expressed in their literature. The negro has no literature save that of his folk-song and story. May these not speak for him, both the good and the bad, in the following chapters?

The work here presented is not exhaustive but representative. The songs are not those of a single plantation, community or section of the Southern States. They are not the songs of the coast negroes or of the river type. But they are sung popularly as much in Georgia as in Mississippi, as much in Florida as in Tennessee. They are distinctly the representative average songs that are current among the common mass of negroes of the present generation. They belong to the negroes who have been constantly in contact with the whites and to those who have had less association with the refinement and culture of the white man. They have been collected carefully and patiently under many difficulties. Many of them are sung only when the white man does not hear; they are the folk-song of the negro, and the negro is very secretive. Not only are they not commonly known by the whites but their existence is only recognized in general. They are as distinct from the white man's song and the popular "coon songs" as are the two races.

The scope of investigation is large and the field is a broad one; the supply of songs seems inexhaustible. Yet the student may not collect them hurriedly. He who has not learned by long observation and daily contact with Southern conditions the exact situation will make little progress in gathering valuable data. While all contributions to the total of negro folk-songs have been very valuable, still it is true that they have been too long neglected and the studies made have been too partial. The nature of the negro's songs is constantly changing; the number is continually increasing. They should be studied as the conditions of the negroes are investigated. They are the product of our soil and are worthy of a distinct place in literature. In the following work the effort is made to present the best of the negro's

songs and to interpret impartially the exact spirit of their essential qualities. In the following pages the effort is made to note many of the negro's mental characteristics as studied in the interpretation of the scope, meaning and origin of his songs, and the essential qualities of his religion as found in the analysis of his

Religious Songs and Spirituals.

The religious songs of the negro have commonly been accepted as characteristic music of the race. The name "spirituals" given them long years ago is still current, while these songs, composed by the negroes, and passing from generation to generation with numerous modifications, retain many of their former characteristics. In former days the spirituals were judged to be the most beautiful production of the race and the truest representation of the negro's real self. Some of these songs have been published, and for a time their emotional beauty and simplicity of expression won for the negro a definite place in the hearts of those who had not hitherto known him. He was often judged by these songs alone, reported only imperfectly and superficially, and forthwith came many expressions of delight and enthusiasm for the future possibilities of the negro. These expressions indicate not only the power of the singing of negro spirituals upon those who heard them, but also many of the characteristics of the old and present-day spirituals.

The following expressions represent a summary of past judgments and criticism of negro spirituals.[1] The hymns of a congregation of "impassioned and impressible worshippers" have been "full of unpremeditated and irresistible dramatic power." Sung "with the weirdest intonations", they have indeed appeared "weird and intensely sad"—"such music, touching and pathetic, as I have never heard elsewhere", "with a mystical effect and passionate striving throughout the whole." And again, "Never, it seems to me, since man first lived and suffered, was his infinite longing and suffering uttered more plaintively." Besides being a relaxation to the negroes these quaint religious songs were "a stimulus to courage and a tie to

[1] See *Atlantic Monthly*, Vol. XIX, pp. 685 *seq.*, *Scribners*, Vol. XX, pp. 425 *seq.*, *Lippincott's*, Vol. II, 617 *seq.*

heaven." Or again, "I remember that this minor-keyed pathos used to seem to me almost too sad to dwell upon, while slavery seemed destined to last for generations; but now that their patience has had its perfect work, history cannot afford to lose this portion of the record. There is no parallel instance of an oppressed race thus sustained by the religious sentiment alone. These songs are but the vocal expression of the simplicity of their faith and the sublimity of their long resignation." Such songs "are all valuable as an expression of the character and life of the race which is playing such a conspicuous part in our history. The wild, sad strains tell, as the sufferers themselves could, of crushed hope, keen sorrow and a dull, daily misery, which covered them as hopelessly as the fog from the rice swamps. On the other hand the words breathe a trusting faith in rest for the future to which their eyes seem constantly turned. The attitude is always the same, and, as a comment on the life of the race, is pathetic. Nothing but patience for this life—nothing but triumph for the next." "One can but feel that these quaint old spirituals with their peculiar melodies, having served their time with effectiveness, deserve a better fate than to sink into oblivion as unvalued and unrecorded examples of a bygone civilization." Many have thought that these songs would pass away immediately with the passing of slavery and that the old system of words and songs "could not be perpetuated without perpetuating slavery as it existed and with the fall of slavery its days were numbered." And "if they be found neither touching in sentiment, graceful in expression, nor well balanced in rhythm, they may at least possess interest as peculiarities of a system now no more forever in this country."

The negro found satisfaction in singing not only at church but perhaps even more while he performed his daily tasks. Those who heard the old slaves sing will never forget the scenes that accompanied the songs. After the lighter songs and brisk melodies of the day were over the negroes turned toward eventide to more weird and plaintive notes. The impressions of such singing have been expressed: "Then the melancholy that tinges every negro's soul would begin to assert itself in dreamy, sad and plaintive airs, and in words that described the most sorrowful pictures of slave life — the parting of loved ones, the separation of mother and child or husband and wife, or the death of those whom the heart cherishes. As he drove his lumbering ox-cart

homeward, sitting listlessly upon the heavy tongue behind the patient brutes, the creaking wheels and rough-hewn yokes exhibiting perhaps his own rude handiwork, the negro slave rarely failed to sing his song of longing. What if his words were rude and its music ill-constructed? Great poets like Schiller have essayed the same theme, and mighty musicians like Beethoven have striven to give it musical form. What their splendid genius failed adequately to express, the humble slave could scarce accomplish; yet they but wrought in the same direction as the poor negro, whose eyes unwittingly swam in tears, and whose heart, he scarce knew why, dissolved in tenderness as he sang in plaintive minor key one or another of his songs."

The above quotations have been given promiscuously, and while others might be added, these suffice to give the general attitude toward the songs of the negroes in the ante-bellum days and since. One other will be added, giving the expression of a present-day negro leader toward the songs of the slave, as the best interpretation that has come from within the race. In his introduction to *Twenty-four Negro Melodies* by Coleridge-Taylor in *The Musicians Library*, Booker Washington says: "The negro folk-song has for the negro race the same value that the folk-song of any other people has for that people. It reminds the race of the 'rock whence it was hewn,' it fosters race pride, and in the days of slavery it furnished an outlet for the anguish of smitten hearts. The plantation song in America, although an outgrowth of oppression and bondage, contains susprisingly few references to slavery. No race has ever sung so sweetly or with such perfect charity, while looking forward to the 'year of Jubilee.' The songs abound in scriptural allusions, and in many instances are unique interpretations of standard hymns. The plantation songs known as the 'Spirituals' are the spontaneous outbursts of intense religious fervor, and had their origin chiefly in the campmeetings, the revivals and in other religious exercises. They breathe a child-like faith in a personal father, and glow with the hope that the children of bondage will ultimately pass out of the wilderness of slavery into the land of freedom. In singing of a deliverance which they believed would surely come, with bodies swaying, with enthusiasm born of a common experience and of a common hope, they lost sight for the moment of the auction-block, of the separation of mother and child, of sister and brother. There is in the plantation songs a

pathos and a beauty that appeals to a wide range of tastes, and their harmony makes abiding impression upon persons of the highest culture. The music of these songs goes to the heart because it comes from the heart."

It will thus be seen that emphasis has been placed almost entirely upon the emotional beauty of the negro songs. They have been portrayed as the exponents of sadness in the race, and the feelings of the black folk have been described with no little skill. Observation for the most part has been made by those who have heard the negro songs but have not studied them. No careful analysis has been attempted. Perhaps casual observers have been mistaken as to the intensity of the emotions expressed and have given undue emphasis to its practical relation and effect upon the individual and upon the race. The judgment of those who have not known the negro, and to whom his singing is a revelation, leads to sweeping generalizations. On the other hand, those who have known the negroes in many walks of life, and have come to know him better than any others, have often emphasized a single phase of the negro folk-song. There can be no doubt as to the beauty and weirdness of the negro singing, but a careful analysis of the general emotional feeling predominating, together with careful interpretation of all things concerned, make comparisons less dangerous and expressions less extravagant. Slavery has passed, four decades of liberty for the slave people have signalized the better civilization, and there still remains among the negroes the same emotional nature, the same sad, plaintive, beautiful, rhythmic sorrow-feeling in their songs.

Some of the qualities of the negro's emotions as seen in his singing will be noted subsequently. Omitting for the present this feature of his songs, and qualifying the statement by interpreting his nature and environment, it may be affirmed that all that has been said of the spirituals is true. They are beautiful, childlike, simple and plaintive. They are the negro's own songs and are the peculiar expression of his own being; much may be said concerning them. Many of the spirituals are still popular among the negroes, and often take the place of the regular church hymns. The less intelligent negroes sing them, and they are sung freely by the more intelligent class. Ministers of all denominations take advantage of their peculiar power to sway the feelings of the negroes into accustomed channels. Many of the old

spirituals that were common in slavery are still current and are sung with but little modification; others are greatly modified and enlarged or shortened. Traces of the slave songs may be found in the more modern spirituals that have sprung up since the war. The majority of the songs have several versions, differing according to localities, and affected by continual modification as they have been used for many years. Some have been so blended with other songs, and filled with new ideas, as to be scarcely recognizable, but clearly the product of the negro singers. Besides the old and the mixed songs, there are many that are entirely new, arising out of various circumstances and developing with successive renditions.

The spirituals current among the Southern negroes to-day are very much like those that were sung three or four decades ago. The differences may be seen in the comparisons that follow in the examples given: There are more rhymed words in the present-day negro song than there was in the earlier ones; consequently there is often less meaning in a line or stanza. The tendency seems to be more toward satisfactory sound *impression* than for spontaneous feeling *expression* as in the older spirituals. Meaning and words in general are often sacrificed in the effort to make rhyme, to make the song fit into a desired tune, to bring about a satisfying rhythm, or to give prominent place to a single well-sounding word or phrase. It would thus seem that the religious songs composed in the usual way by the negroes of the present generation have less conviction, and more purposive features in their composition. The dialect of the older songs is purer than those of the present-day negro. One finds little consistency in the use of dialect in the songs that are sung now; rarely does one hear the lines repeated in exactly the same form. Dialect or the common form of the word, it would seem, is used according as feeling, the occasion, or the necessity for rhyme or rhythm permits or demands. Many of the negro songs that are the most beautiful in their expression would appear expressionless were they robbed of their dialect and vividness of word portrayal. The imagery and dialect give the songs their peculiar charm; the more mechanical production that is apparently on the increase may be sung to the same melody, but the song itself has little beauty. However, the negroes themselves prefer the old songs and almost invariably return to the singing of the more primitive ones that have become a part of their heritage.

In those cases where the tunes differ from the old melodies, the song has assumed a characteristic nature, either from its origin and composition, from constant usage by the negroes, from local qualities, or from unusual combinations. And in these original creations of the negro religion are found the truest expression of nature and life as it is reflected in the negro of to-day; it is not the expression of complex life, but of simple longing. In the outbursts of joyous song and melody the note of victory is predominant; in the sadder-toned songs, sung in "plaintive, rhythmic melody", the prevailing note is that of appeal. In either case there is some sort of conviction back of the song, and it becomes the expression of primitive human life. They set forth the more simple thoughts of an emotional and imaginative worship. They magnify the personal and the spectacular in religion. They satisfy the love of melody, rude poetry, and sonorous language. Simple thought is expressed in simple rhyming phrases. Repetition of similar thoughts and a single chorus, with simple and pleasing music which lends itself easily to harmonious expression, are characteristic. The music is specially adapted to the chorus-like singing which is produced by the clever and informal carrying of many parts by the singers. The song often requires a single leader, and a swelling chorus of voices take up the refrain. It is but natural that these songs should be suited to protracted services as good "shoutin' songs" or "runnin' speerichils." The same rhythm makes them pleasing to the toilers who are disposed to sing religious songs while they work and promotes a spirit of good fellowship as well as being conducive to general "good feelin'." The united singing of children is also beautiful. Throughout these characteristic songs of the negro, the narrative style, the inconsequential, disjointed statements, the simple thought and the fastidious rhymes are all expressive of the negro's mental operations.

All of the negro's church music tends to take into it the qualities of his native expression—strains minor and sad in their general character. The religious "tone" is a part of the song, and both words and music conform to the minor key. The negroes delight in song that gives stress and swell to special words or phrases that for one reason or another have peculiar meanings to them. For the most part, all religious songs are "spirituals" and easily merge into satisfying melodies when occasion demands. With the idea gained from

the music of the songs must be joined the church scenes and its personalities freely mingled with the music. The preaching, praying, singing and with it shouting and unity of negro worship—perfection of rhythmic sing-song, these with the throbbing instinct of the people make the negro music what it is. The negroes sing their regular denominational hymns with the same feeling, often, as they do the spirituals, and while mention must be made of their church hymns as such, they often reach in singing them a climax similar to their most fervent outbursts, and freely mingle them with the old songs. In addition to the tune in which the hymn is written the negro puts his own music into the singing, and his own interpretation into the words. This together with the "feeling-attitude" which is unconsciously his, and the satisfaction which he gets from his singing, places negro church music in a class of its own. A glance at the part which singing plays in the negro's church services will aid in the interpretation of his songs.

Church services are opened with song; a leader may occupy his place at a central table or chair, select a song and begin to sing. Or they may wait for the "speerit" and a leader from the pews may begin to sing, others join in the song, while the congregation begins to gather in the church. The leader often lines his song aloud, reading sometimes one, sometimes two lines, then singing. He often puts as much music-appeal into the lining of the song as he does in the singing. The rhythmical, swinging tone of the reader adds zest to the singing which follows. Most of the negroes who sing know a great many songs—in fact, all of their regular songs—if they are given a start by the leader. On the other hand, the congregation often gives the leader a start when he lags, and both together keep the song going until they are ready to stop singing or to begin another song.

If the service is prayer meeting or a class meeting the leader usually continues the songs throughout the singing part of the exercises; at regular preaching services the preacher reads the regular hymns and leaves the beginning and the final songs to the leaders. In the class meeting, the general congregation led by song-leaders sing, as a rule, while the class leaders are engaged with their classes. Now a woman on this side, now a man or woman on the other side of the church begins the song and others join in the doleful tunes; so too, while collections are being made the singing is kept up continuously. The

process is the same: a leader begins to sing, another joins in the singing, then another and another until the majority of those present are singing. Most negroes who attend church participate in the singing, although many will not do so regularly, preferring to remain quiet for a time, then to burst out into song. The negroes have been proverbial for their good singing, and undoubtedly they have won a deserved reputation. A group of five or ten negroes singing at a mid-week prayer meeting will often appear the volume of song equivalent to that of many times their number of white people singing. The comparison, however, is not a fair one, for the music is entirely different. One can scarcely appreciate the singing of the negroes until he has heard them on various occasions and in different capacities. Let him listen on a quiet Sunday evening from a position on a hill to the singing of four negro congregations, each clearly audible. It would appear to be the rhythmical expression of deep human feeling and longing in an unrestrained outburst of ten thousand souls. Inside the church one may watch the leaders as they line the songs and listen to their rich, tremulous voices; he may see the others respond and listen to the music of each peculiar voice. The voice of the leader seems to betray great emotions as he reads the lines and begins to sing. He appears literally to drink in inspiration from the songs while his soul seems to be overflowing as he sings the words telling of grace and redemption. However, he manifests the same kind of emotion when he sings one song as when singing another, the same emotion when he reads the words wrongly as when he has read them correctly; it makes little difference to him. He is consumed with the music and with the state of feeling which singing brings to him. After all, perhaps one feeling dominates his whole being while he sings, and there can be no song to him which does not accord with this.

A complete analysis of the negro church music in its detail is worthy of the efforts of any one who could describe it. And while the folk-song is of more importance in the present work than the music of these same songs, a few further details that are apparently characteristic of the negroes will not be amiss. The singing begins slowly and with time-honored regularity but is followed by the agreeable and satisfying effect made by the joining in of varied voices. Many times the singers begin as if they would sing a simple subdued song, or a hymn with its written music. But in a short while, apparently not

being able to resist the impulse to give their feelings full sway, their voices fall into that rhythmical swing peculiar in a large degree to the negroes; all measures alike become stately. The average negro is proud of his stylish choir because it represents a step towards a model which the negroes wish to follow; but they do not like the choir's *singing* as well as their own informal song. In general the negro's song will characterize his natural self wherever he sings or hears it sung; he is loath to give it up. And while some pastors have testified that there were no members in their church who would not sing the church songs, it is very evident that many of the younger negroes do not enter fully into the spirit of the old songs and they must necessarily undergo radical changes and rapidly pass away.

Before coming to the further study of the negro spirituals, it will be well to inquire into the nature of the favorite standard church hymns commonly used by the negroes in their church services. A comparison may then be made with the popular folk-songs. The favorite songs and most common themes sung by the negroes may best be seen at their prayer meetings or class meetings, or at such gatherings as require no formality. One may attend week after week and hear the same songs and feel the same pathos emanating from the songs which the worshippers have learned to sing and love. They enjoy singing of *heaven* and *rest* and *luxury* where *ease* abounds and where *Sabbaths* have no end. They love to sing the praises of the Deliverer who shall free them from life's toils. They have chosen the "good old" songs that have vividness and concrete imagery in them; they have placed a new feeling into them and a different interpretation. The meaning of the words and the sentiment of the song are transcended by the expression in the singing. The accustomed manner, together with their responsive feeling, absorb whatever of pure devotion might have existed in their attitude—the singing itself becoming devotion. The negro looks always to some future state for happiness and sings often:

> This earth, he cries, is not my place;
> I seek my place in heaven.

The negroes sing with a peculiar faith the common stanzas of their hymns: "We've seen our foes before us flee," "We've seen the timid lose their fears", "We've seen the prisoners burst their chains",

"We've seen the guilty lose their stains." So, too, they conceive, as of old, of the eternal rest and sing, with its full stanzas:

> How sweet a Sabbath thus to spend,
> In hope of one that ne'er shall end.

The singing of these hymns is beautiful and impressive, testifying to the truth that their favorites appeal to the fitness of worship and accord with the ideal of rhythmical perfection as expressed in the feeling of the worshipper.

The general state of feeling which accompanies the song thus has much to do with the song itself. The singing with its results is the most satisfying and agreeable part of the worship to the negro's nature. It satisfies his social wants and relieves to some extent his child-like psychophysical cravings. His worship is music to his soul, whether it be in the word-music of the sermon and prayer, or in the natural outburst of his song, or in the rhythm of all combined. It is all freedom from restraint and the gratification of impulse and the experience of sustained languor. Although the negro expends a great deal of energy in his singing, it is nevertheless rest for him as he feels it. Unrestrained expression goes far toward relieving him of his troubles, sometimes real, sometimes imaginary. What the negro imagines to be total confession and contrite submission has a very soothing effect upon him; the songs reach the climax of this state of feeling. Many negroes may be seen, with their heads resting backward and eyes closed, singing vigorously their favorite songs; often they lean forward, sway back and forth, apparently in a complete state of passivity. Tears and shouts of joy are not inconsistent with the saddest strains of pathos. Their senses are all turned toward the perception of one attitude, and besides a wonderful tranquility of feeling, they also feel and see visions. At such a time the negro is at ease and is at liberty to give full expression to his feelings among his own people, without incentive to action and without interruption. Is it surprising that after a day's work, while he has passed the hours away in emptiness of thought or in misguided thinking and with perverted notions, he finds sweet rest in some melodious songs and rhythmic verses as he rests his body in the pew? Is it surprising that he is unwilling to leave the church until a late hour or that he does not tire of singing? For what has he to attract him at home where he

unwillingly begins to think of work again? It is little surprising that after the outburst of song and shouts which reveals so much of the negro's nature that his attitude is one of listlessness and apathy when he has finished.

This revelation of emotions which the negro shows in his singing but manifests the reality of his religion. And although the greater part of his feeling in religion is pleasurable excitement, it is, nevertheless, for this very reason the one reality in life to him. A study of the emotional element does not, then, detract from the beauty and value of the negro's song; it does aid in interpreting that part of his songs that arise spontaneously and also shows something of their origin and growth. Indeed without a knowledge of the negro's nature and environment, one would scarcely realize the fullest appreciation of his folk-songs. In proportion as the investigator becomes acquainted with the people and circumstances which have furnished unique folk-songs, to that degree will he be eager to search out their origin and be able to interpret them intelligently as they are fundamentally related to the race.

The negro has found much material upon which to base his songs and many sources from which he has selected a wide range of subject-matter. His religion is often synonymous with his song, and he has sung with little restraint the various religious experiences common to such a religion. The sermon and prayers, even the songs themselves suggest new themes for an imaginative and religious being to sing. So, too, the Church, the Christians and the "world" have furnished themes for his song. Sin, evil and the devil are ever-present subjects for religious thought. The scenes of everyday life form continuous allegories to be imaged with the assistance of the negro's definite self-feeling. But perhaps nowhere has the negro found more acceptable subject-matter for his song than in the Scriptures; his songs abound in references to scriptural characters and often portray individuals and scenes with unusual concreteness. A perusal of the negro's songs thus reveals the most common themes, but it is more difficult to locate the accidental circumstances which gave rise to particular forms of a song, or to ascertain the temperamental nature which originated many of the best known spirituals. In general, it may be said that the folk-song of the negroes has found its rise in every phase of negro life. It is scarcely possible to trace the origin of the first spirituals and plantation songs.

The American negroes appear to have had their own songs from the earliest days of slavery. And while their first songs were undoubtedly founded upon the African songs as a basis, both in form and meaning, little trace of them can be found in the present songs: negro folks produce spontaneous song. The linguist and the anthropologists are able to find the parallel and apparent origin of many words, that have been used by the Southern negroes in their lore and song, among the peoples of Africa, but there is now no practical relation between these words and the meaning of the words in their present usage. The origin of folk-song has always been an interesting theme, proving full of fascination for him who finds it, nymph-like, vanishing from his grasp. Still the song of a people is ever present and appear, almost like myths, to have sprung into life in some way and at some time which no one can exactly tell. Many a bard of the common life has intensified their meaning and made them a part of that life.

However, many of the negro folk-songs may be explained when one has observed the negro in many walks of life, or has found the origin from which they arose. Many of the old spirituals were composed in their first forms by the negro preachers for their congregations; others were composed by the leaders of the church singing; others were composed by the slaves in the various walks of life, while still others were first sung by the "mammies" as they passed the time in imaginative melody-making and sought harmony of words and music. A great many of these songs never became current because they lacked the pleasurable features that appealed most to the negroes. Those that proved satisfactory were seized upon and their growth and popularity dated from the moment they were heard. With the negroes of to-day songs have arisen in much the same way. The difference of environment must necessarily make a difference in the nature of the songs; at the same time the coloring of present-day life is much in evidence in some of the old songs composed by the slaves but sung by the negroes of the present generation. Some suggestions as to the natural origin and growth of negro songs may be both interesting and valuable.

The negroes have always been known as full of feeling and very expressive. Their natures demand not only some expression of their emotions but this expression must be easy and rhythmic, at the same time that it is intense and continuous. The negro's musical nature

easily turns these expressions into melody, and a word, phrase or exclamation becomes a song in itself. The song is completed by the imaginative mind and the sense of fitness in sound. Worshippers often follow the preacher through his sermon in a mental state of song and when he has finished they burst out into song, singing no other than an elaborate sentence which the preacher has used in his sermon. When this is joined to a familiar chorus and tune, and then varied, a song has originated. Sometimes the song is remembered and sung again; sometimes, like the words of the preacher, it simply becomes a part of the satisfaction of the hour and is forgotten. A negro preacher recently reached a climax in his discourse in the phrase, "Oh, with the wings of the morning, I'd fly to that heavenly land." He repeated this a number of times and made gestures with his arms suggestive of flying. His black robe added to the forcefulness of the suggestion and the impression became a part of the song of that church. So with praying, the pathetic appeal and word-music of a *p-l-e-a-s-e My Lo-rd* is often the inspiration for a song when a happy phrase from the prayer becomes an addition to a song that follows. Even more than preaching and praying, shouting gives rise to song among the negroes; during exciting times in worship the negroes often sing unheard of songs nor do they ever recall them again. It is indeed a mixed scene of song and motion, each contributing largely to the other, while the spectator looks on in wonderment at the astonishing inventiveness of the worshippers. The general motion, expressions of the face, words and harmonies, rests and rhythm, sense of fitness and even of humor, repetition — these make an occasion that defies limitation to its expression. If a single personality dominates the whole in an expression that appeals to the present sense of fitness, he is the author of a new song. Such a personality in the person of a visiting minister recently shouted out during such a scene: "Oh, the hearse-wheel a-rollin' an' the graveyard opening—h-a, ha," but got no further for his refrain was taken up by the chorus and the next day was a new version of the well-known song.

Such occasions might be cited in great numbers. Not infrequently a negro who has assumed the position of song leader sings a line while the others join in with a chorus of singing and shouting. When the leader has given all the lines that he knows, he will often continue in the simplest manner possible, as if he had known them for a long

time, to improvise lines, which often have little meaning, but which fit into the tune and sound well. This process may be continued indefinitely, sometimes with repetition of lines already uttered but slightly varied and the emphasis placed on the differing particular. It thus happens that the songs need not have a limit. The necessity of the occasion becomes the cause for the invention of the song. Itinerant worshippers are often thus gratified to sing to new congregations. As a rule the negroes always give attention and respect to strangers so that the man or woman who comes to them is at liberty to sing old or new songs, and they often become skilled in improvising songs. The new songs are then learned and begin their history as folk-song. Again, negroes often feel themselves called upon to introduce new features into some of their songs and conceive of various novelties. The negro's feeling toward leadership puts a premium upon such a practice. In this effort, a song that is little known among the negroes will be changed in some particulars, printed on a sheet of paper and distributed as the song of brother or sister So and So. The song may be found in a hymn book. However, songs entirely new and the efforts of their own poetic attempts are often thus circulated. This gives rise to a new class of negro spirituals, examples of which may be seen in the following pages.

A number of popular spirituals apparently had their rise in the effort of the church to satisfy the physical cravings of the negroes. The church deemed the fiddle and the dance instruments of the devil, and although the negro was and is passionately fond of dancing, he was forbidden by the church to do so. The church needed some kind of substitute for the rhythm and excitement of the dance that would satisfy and still be "in the Lord." Consequently marching services were often instituted. The benches were piled up together and marching room left for the worshippers. They had various orders for this service and many forms of it have been known to exist. Sometimes they marched two by two, a "sister and brother in the Lord", sometimes they marched singly, and at other times they marched in a general "mix-up." At first they followed a leader to a simple melody, keeping step and working into a rhythmic swing. Then as they became more excited they became more expressive and with the elaboration of the march into a dance their songs became marching songs. Often they thus marched, with intervals for rest, until the hours of

the morning. Sometimes they all sang; sometimes the leader sang the leading part and all joined in the chorus with more satisfactory effect. In the march the negroes swayed back and forth, to and fro, and found the usual satisfaction that comes from absolute lack of restraint. As the songs given in the following pages indicate, the negroes often imagined themselves to be the children of Israel, while their marching songs represented Moses leading them out from under the bondage of Pharaoh, or they considered themselves as marching around the wall of some besieged city. Victory would be theirs sooner or later. This is not confined to the songs composed by the slavery negroes, but is common in the later songs. Such scenes are often portrayed by negro preachers of the present day and very appropriate applications, as they think, are made. The march songs that have been found current to-day were composed since the war. Often the negroes enacted similar scenes without the formal putting away of the benches in the church, and the same general results were the outcome. Shouting scenes in negro worship to-day are very much similar to the old marches except that they are more promiscuous. The "strange, sweet harmonies and melodies" of the old songs are still good shouting songs.

Individuals have composed spirituals while at work or while wandering from place to place, as a simple outgrowth of the circumstances. The expression, so common in negro songs, "O my Lord", seems to have been introduced into a number of songs in this way. The single expression repeated itself forms a favorite melody that is often sung. A group of negroes sing while working; one sings a new verse of the song: "Where you git dat?" "I made hit maself, didn't you know I'm a songster?" And he did make it, and thus gratified, tries other attempts; with him others begin and they have become "songsters". Negroes, in order to verify a boast that they know a certain song to exist, have been known to compose on the moment just such a song, mixing all sorts of songs together with the ideas that arise. Others who have been offered an attractive price for songs have composed them without scruples of conscience and when asked to sing them, have done so with perfect ease. They were paid for the songs, thinking that they had "fooled that white man", who valued his song thus composed as much perhaps as an old spiritual that was still current. What the negro composed accidentally he learned to sing, and thus

introduced a real song in his community, which was to be soon carried to other localities. The negro is going to sing whether he has a formal song or not. The following song originated with two negro laborers, apparently in a dialogue. The lines may be sung to any tune and put to any chorus.

The church bell a ringin', how sweet I do declar'.
Why don't you go to meetin' an' pray all day long?
I'm goin' to church an' pray all day long.
Of course I 'm a sinner but prayin' might do me good
An' if I do succeed I sure will tell the news.

Another song that was composed spontaneously in the effort to dignify his conversation is the following. It will be seen that for the most part it is composed of phrases common to other songs, and it is only the combination that is new.

Walk right and do right an' trust in the Lord—
Lay down all yo' sinful ways an' trust in the Lord.

I am goin' to trust in the Lord,
I am goin' to trust in the Lord,
I'm goin' to trust in the Lord till I die.

My God he's a wonderful God an' trust in the Lord,
He will answer yo' prayers don't care wher' you are,
An' trust in the Lord.

The next example was composd by a negro man after he had recently "come through." He always loved to talk of what he had seen, what he knew would happen and how he could get out of difficulties. Along with this he had an unusually imaginative mind and told many ingenious stories. Here is the song:

The devil come down to the worl' one day
An' I heard him holler, hoo-ray, hoo-ray!
Come out, I 'm havin' a holiday.

That was the word I heard him say,
But I knowed if I danced to his holiday,
There 'd be something doing an' the devil to play.

The above song is difficult to classify. It would seem to be very much like some rhymes that the negro had seen published in a newspaper but for all his purposes it was a good song and it mattered little where he had obtained the ideas. It was indeed his own song. One

other example of an effort to compose a new song shows the tendency of the negro to mix his serious themes with ridiculous expressions.

There was a man by the name of Cy,
He never prayed an' he never try,
So when ole Cy was come to die,
He hollow out, "in hell I 'll cry."

In hell ole Cy did cry,
In hell ole Cy did cry,
In hell ole Cy did cry,
Now don't you die like ole Cy die.

The song is a variation of two or three secular songs and becomes a religious song because of its chorus. It is actually sung in the churches. The "author" continued,

Ole Cy did lead a mighty bad life,
He was always after some other man's wife,

which clearly showed the trace of the secular element; this phrase is applied to many of the notorious characters in the negro secular songs. Still there was an opportunity for the moral and the song represents the peculiar gratification which the negroes find in having composed something more or less original.

Enough has been said to give a definite idea concerning the actual and possible origin of some of the negro folk-songs. Further examples will be given when the discussion of the negro's secular song has been reached. The psychology of negro music and song is not difficult to explain in the light of the facts already suggested. His plaintive appeals in prayer, his emotional and religious nature, his primitive expression, his love of rhythm and melody, his feelings and misguided imagination, his interpretation of life and Scripture, his faith in dreams and visions quickly exaggerated into fabrications, his whole nature but reveals within him what we call the musical nature of the race. With the negro, motion and song instinctively go together. Systematic movement is more conducive to singing than a careless, haphazard motion. Movement and song give rhythm that is not to be found under other circumstances. Regularity and rhythm in movement, emphasis and rhythm in music, these give the negro songs essential pleasure-giving qualities that appeal strongly to the negro's entire being. If his music is primitive and if it has much of the sensuous in it; if his songs and verse are full of primitive art having

many qualities of possible worth, nevertheless they are not thereby rendered less distinct.

In no way can a better insight into the negro's religion be obtained than by a careful study of his songs. An analysis of those songs that have been preserved will give us at once a better conception of his folk-songs and his religion. The references are reproduced in their exact forms in order that they may serve as an aid in the study of the verse contained in the common songs of the negroes from the time of slavery to the present day. Only the chief conceptions which have been portrayed in negro song are here given; further analysis may be made in connection with the songs themselves. The devil is prominent in the religious songs of the negroes. He is the constant terror and proverbial enemy of the race. He is alive, alert, and concrete. He represents the demon trickster incarnate in the form of a man. He is the opposite of God but always less powerful. He is the enemy against whom the battle is always on; it is a personal battle, but he is usually outwitted or disappointed. Here are some pictures of "Old Satan" as found in the songs of the slave and the negro of to-day:[1]

Ef you want to see ole satan run,
Jes' fire off dat gospel gun.

Ole satan is a liar an' conjurer, too,
An' if you don't mind he 'll conjure you.

Other forms are

An' if you don't mind he 'll cut you in two,
An' if you don't mind he 'll cut you through.

Ole satan lak a snake in the grass,
Always in some Christian's path,

or

If you don't mind he'll git you at las'.

Ole satan weahs a mighty loose ole shoe,
If you don't min' gwine a slip it on you.

Ole satan like dat hunting dog,
He hunt dem Christians home to God.

O shout, shout, de debbil is about,
O shut yo' do' an' keep him out.

[1]For verses not found in the present-day negro spirituals, see *Slave Songs in the United States*, W. F. Allen, New York, 1867, *The Jubilee Singers*, New York, 1873, *Plantation and Cabin Songs*, New York, 1892.

All de debbils in hell can't pluck me out,
An' I wonder what satan 's a grumblin' erbout,
He's boun' in hell an' can't get out,
But he shall be loose an' hab his way,
Yonder at de great reserection day.

I went down de hillside to make a one prayer,
An' when I get dere ole satan wus dere,
O what you think he said to me?
Said, "Off frum here you better be."

Old satan tole me to my face,
"I 'll git you when a you leave this place;"
O brother dat scere me to my heart,
I was 'feared to walk a when it wus dark.

I started home but I did pray,
An' I met ole satan on de way;
Ole satan made a one grab at me,
But he missed my soul an' I went free.

I tell you brother you better not laugh,
Ole satan 'll run you down his path,
If he runs you lak he run me,
You 'll be glad to fall upon yo' knee.

We shout so fas' de debbil look,
An' he gits away wid his cluven foot.

Ole satan is mad an' I am glad,
He missed the soul he thought he had.

What make ole satan hate me so?
'Cause he got me once an' let me go.

Ole satan tole me not to pray;
He want my soul at jedgement day.

I wrestle wid satan and wrestle wid sin,
Stepped over hell an' come back agin.

Ole satan tremble when he sees,
The weakest saint upon his knees.

Go 'way satan I doan min' you;
You wonder, too, you can't come through?

Oh brother, breth'ren, you better be engaged,
For de debbil he 's out on a big rampage.

I plucked one block out o' satan's wall,
I heard him stumble an' saw him fall.

Ole satan thought he had me fas',
Broke his chain an I 'm free at las'.

I met ole satan in my way;
He say, young man, you too young to pray.

The devil tries to throw down everything that 's good,
He 'd fix a way to confuse the righteous if he could,
Thanks be to God-er-mighty he can't be beguiled,
Ole satan will be done fighting after awhile.

The negroes have many other phrases which they apply to satan and picture him in other relations. "Ole satan is a mighty busy ole man, an' throw rocks in my way." "What makes ole satan follow me so? Satan ain't got nothin' fer to do with me." As a *busy man* he also has his "shield and sword", not only *gives* trouble but *gets* into trouble. Says the negro: "I heard de debbil howlin' when I come out'n de wilderness an' I gib de debbil battle." "Now stan' back, satan, an' let me go by . . . why doan de debbil let a me be?" "Ole satan mighty busy, he follow me night an' day. Ole satan toss ball at me, he think the ball hit my soul, the ball for hell an' me for heaven." "Ole satan gettin' in mighty rage", for "satan's camp's afier." "Satan mount de iron gray hoss an' ride half way to pilot bar." But "We'll shout ole satan's kingdom down, gwine a pull down satan's kingdom, gwine a win ag'in de debbil." Victory is the negro's for he exclaims: "I saw dem bindin' satan", and "I saw ole satan's kingdom fallin'." But while satan is a great schemer and is very busy and "wash his face in ashes", "put on leather apron", his greatest attribute is the liar. The negro cannot give too insistent warning:

When I got dere Cap'n satan wus dere.
Sayin' "Young man, dere's no use to pray,
For Jesus is daid an' God gone away."
An' I made 'im out a liar an' went on my way.

With these pictures and warnings the negro song gives a final bit of advice. "If you ain't got de grace ob God in yo' heart, den de debbil will git you sho", then the singer rests securely in the knowledge that *he* is filled with the grace that holds against the devil.

"King Jesus" was the original name most commonly given to Christ in the spirituals. Besides this He was the bosom friend of the negro. He comes in to intercept satan and to save the individual from hell. He is very real and no one is more vividly described than He. He bears many relations to his people.

Now my Jesus bein' so good an' kind,
My Jesus lowered his mercy down,

An' snatch me from de doors of hell,
An' took me in with him to dwell.

Oh, Jesus tole you once befo'
To go in peace and sin no mo'.

I heard o' my Jesus many one say,
Could move po' sinner's sins away.

Den Jesus he come ridin' by,
Gib me wings to ride an' fly.

Jesus Christ the first and las',
No man wuks lak him;
He built a platform in de air,
He meets de saints from eve'where.

Virgin Mary had one son,
The cruel Jews had him hung.

Me an' my Jesus goin' live at ease,
Me an' my Jesus goin' do as we please.

If you want er die like Jesus died,
Fold yo' arms an' clasp yo' eyes.

I tell you breth'ren an' I tell you twist,
My soul done anchored in Jesus Christ.

Up on de hillside King Jesus spoke,
Out of his mouth come fire an' smoke.

Yer say yo' Jesus set you free;
Why don't you let yo' neighbors be?

Other shorter lines give equally concrete pictures and mention equally definite attributes.

You'll see my Jesus come to wake up de nations underground.
King Jesus died for every man.
An' de son He set me free.
I got my Jesus as well as you.
If you want to see Jesus go in de wilderness.
Gwine serve my Jesus till I die.
I call my Jesus king Emanuel.
He pluck my feet out'n de miry clay.
He sot dem on de firm rock of age.
Christ hab bought yo' liberty.
King Jesus' settin' in de kingdom.
De win' blow eas' an' de win' blow wes' from Jesus.
Oh yonder comes my Jesus, I know him by his shinin'.
Hear my Jesus when he call you? Hear my Jesus callin'?
I'm goin' to hebben where my Jesus dwell.
O I walk and talk with Jesus.
Jesus loosen de man frum under de groun'.

Jesus ain't comin' here to die no mo'.
The son of man he dunno where to lay his weary head.

See what wonder Jesus done:
Jesus make dumb to speak.
Jesus make de cripple walk.
Jesus gib de blin' deir sight.
Jesus do mos' anything.
I want to do (or die) like Jesus.
Jesus stan' on de udder side Jordan.
Jesus settin' on de water side.
Jesus is our captain, Jesus got de hellum.
Jesus mount (ride) a milk-white hoss.
You had better follow Jesus.
Daddy Peter set out for Jesus.
Jesus will bring you milk an' honey.
Mas' Jesus is my bosom friend.
Gwine follow King Jesus, I really do believe.
King Jesus he was so strong, my Lord, till he jar down de walls ob hell.
Gwine to write to my Jesus.
King Jesus settin' in de heaven.
King Jesus on de mountain top.
O Jesus is a mighty man. Ride in kind Jesus, who set po' sinner free.
For Jesus came an' lock de do'.
De Jews kill po' Jesus.
Jesus call you—Jesus waitin'.
I wus los' in de wilderness; Jesus hand me de candle down.
Mas' Jesus gib me little broom fer to sweep my heart clean.
Jesus fed me when I was hungry, he clothed me when I was naked, he gave me drink when I was dry.
Jesus rose an' flew away on Sunday morning.
Christ was there four thousand years ago, drinking of the wine.
Jesus he wore the starry crown. Did you see Jesus when he wore the starry crown?
Jesus he wore long white robe.
King Jesus speaks an' de chariot stops.
King Jesus is the Rock.
Well did you say you love Jesus?
Jesus done bless my soul an' gone to glory.
Won't you ride on Jesus? O yes.
I look fer Jesus all o' my days.
Jesus is a listening all the day long.

The scenes of the crucifixion seem to impress the negroes very forcibly and their songs abound in references to His suffering. Some of these expressions are full of feeling, and are touching in their sentiment.

They nail my Jesus down
They put him on the crown of thorn (thorny crown).

O see my Jesus hangin' high!
He look so pale an' bleed so free:
O don't you think it was a shame,
He hung three hours in dreadful pain?

Next to Jesus and often synonymous with Him is God. He is "My Lord", "My God", "Lord God-er-mighty", and " king Jehobah'', and represents the personal God and the ruler of the world.

Upon de mountain Jehobah spoke,
Out o' his mouth come fire an' smoke.

My God a walkin' down hebbenly road,
Out o' his mouth come two edged sword.

If yo' find yo' way to God,
The gospel highway mus' be trod.

De father he look upon de Son an' smile,
De Son he look on me,
De Father redeem my soul from hell,
De Son he set me free.

I'm a chile of God wid my soul set free,
For Christ hab bought my liberty.

I'm goin' home fer to see my Lord.
My Lord did give me ease.
Ever since my Lord set me free.
I believe it for God he tole me so.
O my Lord's comin' ag' in,
It may be las' time, I don't know.
I goin' to do all I can fer my Lord; I goin' to mourn, pray, weep all I can fer my Lord.
The Lord is a listenin' all the day long.
My Lord is a talkin (preachin') at de jedgement day.
De Lord goin' to wake up the dead.
My Lord come down wid de key an' unlock de jail house do'.
O, my Lord 's a doctor in a weary lan';
My Lord 's a preachin' and teachin, and walkin' in a weary lan'.
My Lord calls me by the thunder; by the lightning.
Dat mus' be my Lord in the cloud.

My Lord says there's room enough.
I 'm goin' to tell God 'bout my trials.
Thank God-a-mighty, My God's been here.
When I talk I talk wid God.

Gwine to chatter wid de Fadder.
My Fadder call an' I mus' go.
My righteous Lord shall fin' you out.
Look to de Lord wid a tender heart.
O de Lord He plant de garden dere and raise de fruit for you to eat.

O de Lord He comfort sinner.
God did go to Moses house an' tell him who He wus.
God an' Moses walked and talked an' God did sho' him who He wus.

God sits in Heaven an' answers prayer.
I gwine tell God how you sarved me.
Look in my God's right hand.
His chariot wheels roll round.
God's goin' call dem chilluns frum de distant lan'.
My Lord's a-ridin' all the time.
De Lord has been here an' de love come tricklin' down.
Me an' my God goin' to walk an' talk.
O God don't talk lak a nat'ral man.
My Lord God-ermighty come a steppin' down, come a steppin' down on a sea ob glass.

Heaven for the negro is an eternal resting place where he shall occupy the best place. It is a place of glory and splendor in the material sense. Nor does he think that he will fail to miss his home when he dies. *Hell* is a place for *thieves* and *sinners* and *liars*, but such persons are far removed from him. His religion is the panacea for all evils and all sins, and when he has the "love of God in his heart" nothing can doom him, for has he not been "washed in the blood of the lamb?" and had not the "blood done sign his name"? His ideas of heaven are those which his mind naturally conceives of as applying to a home; his conclusions from the Scriptures are not unusual. A few of the references to heaven will give a better conception of the negro's reality and vividness of interpretation.

I want to go to heaven when I die,
To shout salvation as I fly.

You say yer aiming fer de skies,
Why don't yer quit yer tellin' lies.

I hope I git dere bye an' bye,
To jine de number in de sky.

When I git to heaven gwine to ease, ease,
Me an' my God goin' do as we please,
Settin' down side o' de holy Lamb.

When I git to heaven goin set right down,
Gwin-er ask my Lord fer starry crown.

Now wait till I gits my gospel shoes,
Gwin-er walk 'bout heaven an' carry de news.

We 'll walk up an' down dem golden streets,
We 'll walk about Zion.

Gwine sit in de kingdom, I raly do believe, where sabbaths have no end.
Look way in de heaven — hope I 'll jine de band — Sittin' in de kingdom.
I done bin to heaven an' I done bin' tried.
Dere's a long white robe in de heaven for me,
Dere's a golden crown, golden harp, starry crown, silver slippers in heaven for me I know.
O yes I'm gwine up to see my Lord ; gwine all de way up to see my robe ; O de heaven is shinin', shinin'.
Gwine shout in hebben, gwine hab a big meetin'.
If you want to go to heaven come along wid me.
Take my flight up to de skies in de mornin'.
O de heaven gates are open.
Gwine up to heaven where my Jesus dwells.
My Jesus walkin' de hebbenly road.
De bell is ringin' in odder bright worl'.
If you touch one strin' de whole hebben ring.
De sun gib light in de hebben all round.
I wish I wus in de kingdom settin' side o' my Lord.
No more hard trial in de kingdom ; no more tribulation, no more parting, no more quarreling, backbiting in de kingdom,
No more sunshine fer to bu'n you ; no more rain fer to wet you.
Ev'y day will be Sunday in heaven.
Sweet music in heaven jes beginning to roll.
Goin feast off 'n milk an' honey.

The negro does not dwell upon thoughts of hell as he does of heaven. Even if he has "stepped over hell an' come back 'gain," he does not reveal so much of its character. Some conceptions, however, are definite enough.

O hell is deep an' hell is wide,
O hell ain't got no bottom or side.

I 'd rather pray myself away,
Than live in hell an' burn one day.

O when I git to hebben, I 'll be able to tell,
How I shunned dat dismal hell.

Ev'y since my Lord done set me free,
Dis ole worl' bin a hell to me.

When I come to find out I 's on de road to hell, I fleed to Jesus.

The negro song finds little satisfaction in his various ideas of hell. "This ole world 's a hell to me," says the negro ; but "hell is a dark and dismal place," so that the only immediate conclusion which he

can reach is that he must "shun de gates of hell" and make for the home beyond the Jordan.

A rich variety of references to scriptural characters is seen in the majority of the negro spirituals, both of the past and of the present. The negro portrays the conduct of heroes in the past with imaginative skill. Their songs are often running-stories of scripture, in which the effort is made to include as many characters as possible and at the same time draw conclusions which have suitable morals, but these songs may be better studied in the examples that follow. Some of the typical references to the Scriptures will show the average interpretation given them by the negroes.

O, sisters, can't you help me sing,
For Moses' sister did help him.

Where wus Ezekiel when de church fell down?
Down in de valley wid his head hung down.

Ezekiel said he spied de train a comin',
He got on board an' she never stop runnin'.

God made Adam an' Adam wus first,
God made Adam out o' the dust o' the earth.

Well God show Noah de rainbow sign,
No more water but fire nex' time.

Mose live till he got old,
Buried in de mountain so I'm told.

Mary wept and Martha mourned,
Jesus Christ laid de corner stone.

Mary wore the golden chain,
Every link was in Jesus' name.

Judas was a deceitful man—
Well he betrayed the innercent lam'.

John wrote a letter an' he wrote it in haste,
If yer want to go to heaven, you better make haste.

John declar he saw a man,
Wid seben lamps in his right han'.

The negroes wonder "wher's sister Mary, Martha, Brudder Moses, brudder Daniel (and the others) gone." So, too, "Sister Hannah, Hagar, brudder Moses" and the rest "took dey seat." And again, "Wondah whar good ole Daniel, doubtin' Thomas, sinkin' Peter" and others. Moses "smote de water" and the negro says:

I want to go where Moses trod,
For Moses gone to de house o' God.

Peter is commanded again and again to "go ring dem bells"; "Daddy Peter go to Jesus", "Fisherman Peter out at sea", the latter perhaps being the origin of "sinkin' Peter." Elijah is one of the favorites of the Old Testament. "Elijah gwine ride in de chariot in de mornin'", and Isaiah who "mounted on de wheel o' time" is a kindred character to Ezekiel and Elijah. Jacob's ladder and struggle is vivid enough to be sung. "I'm gwine climb up Jacob's ladder"; "Rastlin' Jacob, let me go." "Jacob tremblin' on a limb." Noah's victory is the common theme. "Dey call Brudder Noah a foolish man", but that makes no difference for "de Lord tole Noah fer to build him ark", and "de ole ark a moverin." The negro remarks characteristically: "God placed Adam in de garden, 'was 'bout de cool o' day." Gabriel is proverbial and the attitude of the singer is always ready "fer to hear Gabriel blow his horn." "Don't you hear Gabriel's trumpet in de mornin'"? "Little David play on de harp" has been a shining example for many another "David" who loved to blow on his harp. "Father Abraham sittin' down side o' de holy Lamb", is almost synonymous with Christ. Prominent among the clear impressions made by the Scriptures is that of the delivery of Daniel, the Hebrew children and Jonah. However, one must read the songs in order to get the full significance of the references.

Although the negro bases everything in his religion upon the Bible, and his songs and sermons and exhortations abound in quotations from the "Holy word", he has comparatively little to say of the Bible itself as a book. He thinks sometimes that it is a "cumpass" and also bases his convictions on the truth of the Bible. He asks "How do you know? For my Bible hit tell me so."

> For in dat Bible you will see,
> Jesus died fer you an' me.
> Matthew, Mark, Luke an' John
> Tell me where my Master 's gone.
>
> Go read de fifth of Matthew
> An' read de chapter through,
> It is de guide to Christians
> An' tell 'em what to do.
>
> Now take yo' Bible an' read it through,
> An' ev'y word you fin' is true.

As the Bible is the *compass*, so sometimes the Holy Ghost is thought

of as the *pilot*. The Holy Ghost is too vague for the negroes to fathom and is not tangible enough for their imaginations. But he says: "If this ain't de holy Ghost I don't know", but goes little further.

Just as the negro expects to talk and walk with God and Jesus, so he looks forward to seeing the angels in Heaven. He wants to see them with their white robes and hear them sing; he even says they mourn. "Bright angels hoverin' on de water by de light", are but a part of the angel band which he hopes to join. "Join de hebben wid de angels" is his watchword and by it he sees in his child-like fancy all the beauties of ideal creatures.

I 'm gwine to keep a climbin' high,
Till I meet dem angels in de sky.

Dem pooty angels I shall see—
Why doan de debbil let a me be?

O when I git to heaven goin' sit an' tell,
Three archangels gwine er ring dem bells.

Two white angels come a walkin' down,
Long white robes an' starry crown.

What 's dat yonder dat I see?
Big tall angel comin' after me.

The negro makes a terrible picture of the day of judgment. For him it means everything that could possibly happen at the end of the world. It is the destruction of the sinner and the glory of the righteous. Nor does he hesitate to affirm that the Christian in heaven will shout amen to the sinner's damnation. The sinner will see his mother and friends in heaven while he is doomed to hell. It serves as a warning theme for the song more than it indicates reality of thought. But here is a part of his picture:

My Lord what a morning when de stars begin to fall,
You 'll see de worl' on fire,
You 'll see de moon a bleedin' an'
De moon will turn to blood,
Den you 'll see de elements a meltin',
You 'll see de stars a fallin',
O yes, de stars in de elements a fallin',
An' de moon drips way in blood,
When God goin' call dem childuns from de distant lan',
Den you see de coffins bustin',
Den you see de bones a creepin',

Den you see po' sinner risin',
Den you hear de tombstones crackin',
An' you see de graves a bustin',
Hell an' seas gwine give up their daid,
Den you see de forked lightenin',
Den you hear de rollin' thunder,
Earth shall reel an' totter,
Hell shall be uncapped,
De dragon be loosed,
Don't you hear them sinners cryin'?

Such a scene vividly told of at a revival and sung to the associations of the moment is too much for the average negro; the sinner cries for mercy and turns to a Christian; the latter sings: "Fare you well po' sinner" and

A mighty sea of glass mingled wid fier,
Good-bye, brother, I 'm goin' higher.

Along with the scenes which are associated with the resurrection and judgment go the sadder strains of the "mourners"; "weepin' mournin', cry'n' "— these will be much in evidence. A study of the songs that follow will give some idea of the emotional nature of the themes and music. The negroes sing sympathy. "Weepin' Mary, weep no mo' "— "Mary wept, Martha cried", why can't they too? "Now ain't dis hard trial and tribulation?" He sings often in his songs of hard times and trials. "When you see me," he says, "pity me." "Nobody knows de trubble I seen" but "I boun' to leave dis worl'; Fare you well, dere's a better day comin'." His prayers are more pathetic than his songs; his appeals interpret the spirit of song and of worship. But one would scarcely look for a more pathetic wail than that of the negro who sings

Sometimes I hangs my head an' cries,
But Jesus goin' to wipe my weep'n' eyes.

If the negro loves to mourn and if his songs are full of sadness and pathos, he also loves to shout and vigorously defends the right to shout as much as he pleases. His songs have many "Hallelujahs" in them; many notes of victory may be read in the songs of his choice. They often sing, however, the songs which should be the most joyous in the same sad and plaintive tone of the sadder ones. They forget the words. In many, however, the shouting takes away any sadness and these livelier songs voice the light and sensuous emotions equally

as well as the more serious ones tell of hardships. The negro maintains that always and everywhere, "You 'll hear the Christain shout." "De richest man I ever seed, his heart was fill wid Jesus an' Holy Ghost." "I got de glory in my soul" he says and

I real'y do b'lieve widout a doubt,
Dat de church hab a mighty right to shout.

I tell you what I lak de bes',
It is dem shoutin' Mefodes'.

If the negro's mother and sister and father and preacher and the others, as the songs put it, "died a shoutin'," why he is "goin' die shoutin' too."

Gwine hab happy meetin',
Gwine shout in hebben,
Gwine shout an' nebber tire,
O slap yo' han's chilluns,
O pat yo' feets chilluns,
I feels de spirit movin'
O now I 'm gittin' happy.

Of true love and devotion to God one finds little definite and concrete expressions as compared with other themes. The negro is constantly affirming his love for "his Jesus" and offering his eternal allegiance in a general way. But in the average instance the testimony is subordinated to some special word or phrase which receives the greater part of the significance in the song. What does he mean when he asks: "Does yo' love continue true?" or when he insists: "I wants to know, does you love yo' Jesus?" The negroes are often heard to say that they want to do something "for the Lord". In the same way they sing "I goin' to weep all I can for my Lord, I goin' pray all I can for my Lord, I goin' do all I can for my Lord." In each case the relation of the negro and his God are ideal and he conceives of his own deeds as being, not the practical every-day life, but as coming in the future when there will be nothing unpleasant about them. It was doubted if the negro's ideas of God and Heaven and his relation to them were truly expressed in his songs. A series of experiments were made with negro children, wherein questions were answered by them at the time they were given, others being carried to their homes or teachers. Their ideas of hell and heaven, God and the angels are almost identical. Perhaps some of them were gained from

the songs; some of them were certainly not; all seemed to agree with each other and with those of the race in a remarkable way.

Nature contributes something to the negro spirituals. Certain parts of nature are symbolic and serve to convey the picture of a vivid imagination as nothing else can do. The wonders of God and the terrors of the judgment must be seen in their relation and effect upon the forces of nature. Certain natural phenomena inspire awe and reverence; they add thus to the conception of his religious fear. Other references to nature convey, as they only could, pleasing features of life, hence of heaven and God. The negro refers to the "break o' day", the "settin' o' the sun", the "cool o' de evenin'" and each is very expressive. Morning and evening are common; he prays in the evening perhaps; in the morning he is going to heaven. The hillside, the mountain and mountain top, the valley, signify and typify the experiences of the Christian of the past and present; the heavenly breeze comes from the valley. The negro sees a paradise and a wilderness, a sunshine and a storm. But

> Dere 's a tree in paradise,
> Christians call de tree ob life,

and he faithfully believes "I specs to eat de fruit off'n dat tree". The earth trembles and is jarred; the sky is "shook." The river is "chilly an' cold, wide an' deep." The "rock" is better than the miry clay and "nebber mind de sun—see how she run." The stars, moon, and world fall, bleed, and burn. The thunder and the lightning are in the stormy cloud; Jesus may be, too. Satan is a snake in the grass and a hunting dog. Young lambs and "de sheep done know de road." The summer, spring, flowers and the field are mentioned. The negro wishes he had wings like Noah's dove. He is sometimes awed:

> I looked toward dat northern pole,
> I seed black clouds of fire roll.

With his vivid imagination the negro feels much of the thought expressed in the folk-song. Thus sin and the sinner are intimately connected with life and death, religion and repentance. How skillfully the songs express the folk-feeling may better be inferred in the further analysis of the following

Types of Negro Spirituals.

An exact classification of negro songs, either as to subject-matter or as to form, is scarcely possible. There is little unity of thought in their content; their metres conform to no consistent standards. A single favorite stanza, regardless of its meaning, is constantly being sung in a dozen different songs. It is a distinct folk-song and it matters little to which one it belongs; it serves its purpose in any one of them. So in the form of the verse, a single tune is adapted to lines that differ widely in length; likewise a single line is not infrequently made to fit into any tune that is desired. Again, no final version of any song can be given. The lines are rarely sung in exactly the same form. There are ordinarily as many versions of a line as there are combinations of the words without spoiling the effect of the rhyme or emphatic word. The stanzas have no order of sequence, but are sung as they occur in the mind of the singer; a song does not have a standard number of stanzas, but the length depends upon the time in which it is wanted to sing that particular song. In the songs that follow the most common versions are given. In giving the dialect no attempt is made at consistency; for the negro of the present generation has no consistency of speech. He uses "the" and "de", "them" and "dem", "gwine" and "goin' ", "and" and "an' ", together with many other varied forms, which will be noted in a later chapter; nor does it matter that each of the forms is used in the same line or stanza. In the old songs that are here quoted for comparisons, the exact form of speech in which they have been published is used. In the miscellaneous songs gathered here and there, what may be called the average dialect is used. The songs that form the basis of this work are those that are found among the present-day negroes of the South; in many cases the corresponding song of earlier days is given in order that a better study of the folk-songs may be made and the many points of resemblance noted. In all instances the *basis* of the chapter is the *present-day song*, and these should not be confused with those that have already been published. The words of the chorus and refrain are italicized. Further particulars will be pointed out in connection with the several songs.

Perhaps no better beginning can be made towards general classification of the religious songs of the negroes than by introducing some

that combine several characteristics, but still have a general theme predominating. Sin is an important factor in the religious life of the negro and his songs refer to it in many forms. The three general tones which pervade the theme are: A note of victory over sin and the conception of it as being in the past or belonging to some other person; the conception of sin as being present and the singer as being in its grasp; and thirdly, the "sinner-man" himself and warnings given him. The very popular song, "All my Sins Done Taken Away" is typical of the first class mentioned above. There is no reason why the stanzas given below should come in the order presented, except that they are heard in this arrangement as much as in any other. The stanzas consist of two rhymed lines with the refrain. These, however, are usually extended to four, the first two and refrain being sung slowly and in a more or less plaintive tone, while the repetition of the same lines with the rhymed line and refrain are rapid and joyous. The common version follows.

I 'm goin' to heaven an' I don't want ter stop,
Yes, I 'm goin' to heaven an' I don't want ter stop,
All o' my sins done taken away, taken away;
I 'm goin' to heaven an' I don't want ter stop,
An' I don't want ter be no stumblin' block,
All my sins done taken away, taken away.

Instead of repeating the chorus line at the end of the first two lines that are sung, the negroes often vary the song by repeating the last half of the line, as in the following stanza:

Well "M" for Mary, an' "P" for Paul,
Well "M" for Mary, an' "P" for Paul,
An' "P" for Paul;
Well "M" for Mary an' "P" for Paul.
"C" for Chris' who died for us all,
All o' my sins done taken away, taken away.

The chorus is again varied from "all my sins" to "all o' my sins" or "all of my sins," "done taken away," or "bin taken away," while the entire line is sometimes changed in a single stanza. Sometimes it is sung as given above; at other times the line goes: "All my sins done taken away, bin' taken away," or omitting either "done" or "bin" it is sung equally well as "All my sins taken away, taken away," while in the grand chorus at the climax of song the chorus goes:

Yes all o' my sins bin taken away,
Yes all my sins done taken away,

Yes all o' my sins done taken away,
Yes all my sins done taken away,
Glory, glory to His name-e,
All my sins done taken away, taken away.

This last chorus may be repeated whenever the singers do not think of words to fit in with the songs, although this is rarely necessary. The following stanzas are sung in the same manner as those just given.

If I had er died when I wus young,
I never would a had dis rist to run,
All o' my sins done taken away, taken away.

Well you oughter bin dere to see de sight,
The peoples come runnin' both cullud an' white.

My feet got wet in de midnight dew,
An' de mornin' star was a witness, too.

If you doan b'leave I bin redeem,
Jes follow me down to Jordan stream.

When a sinner see me it make him laugh,
Thank God-a-mighty, I'm free at las'.

Mary wept an' Martha mourned,
Mary wept all 'round the throne.

Mary wept an' Martha mourned,
All because deir brother done daid an' gone.

Mary wept an' Martha cried,
All 'cause dey brother done gone an' died.

I'm goin' to ride on de mornin' train,
All don't see me goin' ter hear me sing.

I'm gwine to heaven on eagle's wing,
All don't see me goin' ter hear me sing.

My mother's sick an' my father's daid,
Got nowhere to lay my weary head.

I went down in de valley to pray,
My soul got happy an' I stayed all day.

A number of other versions are common. Instead of "Mary wept all 'round the throne," is sung "all 'round God's hebbenly throne." Instead of the morning star as a witness the old songs have it "angels witness too." Instead of in the valley, the old songs also had "on de mountain" and also inserted "I did n't go dere to stay." This

version is sung in some of the songs still. "The Sabbath has no End" is the name of a favorite somewhat similar to "All my sins done taken away." It has a number of forms for the chorus.

I went down in de valley,
I did n't go ter stay,
My little soul got happy
An' I like to a stayed all day.

I thought I had religion, I b'lieve
I thought I had religion, I b'lieve.
I thought I had religion, I b'lieve,
Dat Sabbath hath no end.

I would n't be a sinner,
Tell you de reason why—
Feard de good Lord might call me,
An I would n't be ready ter die.

Gwine rock trubbel over, I b'lieve,
Rock trubbel over, I b'lieve,
Rock trubbel over, I b'lieve,
Dat Sabbath has no end.

Ole Satan 's mighty busy,
Fixin' up his snares,
He 'll ketch all dem mourners,
If dey don't keep deir prayers.

Yer better get ready, I b'lieve
Yer better get ready, I b'lieve,
Yer better get ready, I b'lieve,
Dat Sabbath has no end.

The singer is a little more definite in his convictions in "I am de light uv de Worl' ". He is no longer a sinner and looks forward to the time when he will "cross de ribber."

Hallaluyer, good Lord,
I am de light uv de worl',
Halleluyer, good Lord,
I am de light uv de worl'.

Ever since my Lord done sot me free,
Dis ole worl' bin a hell to me,
I am de light uv de worl'.

I looked toward dat Northern pole,
I seed black clouds of fier roll,
I am de light uv de worl'.

I gwine 'clare de word,
I am de light uv de worl',
I 'm gwine 'clar de word,
I am de light uv de worl'.

Der ain't but one train on dis track,
Goes straight to heaven an' run right back.
I am de light uv de worl'.

Ever since I bin in de worl',
I am de light uv de worl',
Ever since I been in de worl',
I am de light uv de worl'.

When I cross Jordan I 'll be free,
Gwine a slip an' slide dem golden streets,
I am de light uv de worl'.

'Way up in de kingdom, Lord,
I am de light uv de worl',
'Way up in de kingdom, Lord,
I am de light uv de worl'.

The negro is not troubled because he cannot see his Lord; he has heard Him speak and believes that He has gone "on to glory." His personal relation with Jesus is satisfactory and he sings His praises often as he tells of his own experiences. Says he:

One day, one day. while walkin' along,
Jesus done bless my soul;
I heard a voice an' saw no one,
Jesus done bless my soul.

O go an' tell it on de mountain,
Jesus done bless my soul;
O go an' tell it in de valley,
Jesus done bless my soul.

He done bless my soul an' gone on to glory, Good Lord,
Jesus done bless my soul;
Done bin here an' bless my soul an' gone on to glory.
Jesus done bless my soul.

In one of the old plantation songs a similar idea is given of the blessing, but in a different version.

One day when I wus walkin' along, Oh yes, Lord,
De element opened, an' de Love came down, Oh yes, Lord,
I never shall forget dat day, Oh yes, Lord,
When Jesus washed my sins away, Oh yes, Lord.

Another chorus inquired: "O brothers where were you? O sisters

where were you? O sinners, O Christians, O mourners, etc., where were you?" for "My good Lord's bin here, bin here, bin here; My good Lord's bin here, An' he blessed my soul an' gone." So the negro exhorters often conclude their services, saying that the Lord has been to the meeting and gone. Said one deacon who was exhorting for a large collection: "De good Lord's done bin with us to-night—I knows he has, done been here an' gone, an' now we wants to git down to bizness, I wants some money."

Again, the negro fresh and enthusiastic from his religious experience and having "come through" sings with some relief:

I have been tryin a great long while,
Lord, I jus' got over on yo' side.

L o r d, I jus' got over-er,
L o r d, I jus' got over,
L o r d, I jus' got over-er,
I jus' got over on yo' side.

I pray'd an' I pray till I come over,
Lord, I jus' got over on yo' side.

So also he "weeps" and he "mourns" and "cries" till he "gets over on the Lawd's side." Then he sings "O de sunshine,"

O the sunshine, O the sunshine,
O sunshine in my soul this mornin',
Yes the sunshine, the sunshine,
Yes sun shine in my soul.

Down in the valley, down on my knees,
Sunshine in my soul,
There I met that heavenly breeze,
Sunshine in my soul.

Ole devil like a snake in the grass,
Sunshine in my soul,
He 's always in some sister's path,
Sunshine in my soul.

While the song is also sung at times with more dialect, it lends itself more readily to the above form. Very much mixed and somewhat similar to those already given is "Bless the Name."

I've got to go to judgment, I don't know how soon,
Lord bless the name, Lord bless the name,
I've got to go to judgment to hear my sins,
Lord bless the name, Lord bless the name.

My Jesus fed me when I 's hungry, gave me drink when I 's dry,
Lord bless the name, Lord bless the name,
My Jesus clothed me when I was naked,
Lord bless the name, Lord bless the name.

In the same song and with the same tune are sung the shorter lines that follow. The chorus is often sung "Lor' bless the name", and is a form of the phrase "Bless the name of the Lord." It is used as a refrain after each line or it may be omitted.

Mary wept and Martha mourned,
Lord bless the name, Lord bless the name,
Jesus Chris' laid the corner of stone,
Lord bless the name, Lord bless the name.

Mary wore the golden chain,
Every link was in Jesus' name.

You may talk about me just as you please,
I'll talk about you when I git on my knees.

God made man an' man was sure,
There was no sin an' his heart was pure.

God made Adam an' Adam was first,
God made Adam out o' the dust o' the earth.

The old slave songs also had other interpretations of man's creation which differ slightly in particular from the last stanza quoted. One form occurs in

God made man an' he made him out o' clay,
Settin' on de golden altar,
An' he put him on de earth but he did not stay,
Settin' on de golden altar.

A favorite chorus for the old spiritual was: "*What you gwine do when de lamp burns down?*" So there was also another version of the weeping of Mary and Martha:

Mary wept an' Martha cried,
To see deir Saviour crucified,
Weepin' Mary weep no mo',
Jesus say he gone befo'.

It proves an interesting task to follow the development and changes in a song that has survived from slavery days. In "Free, free my Lord", one of the verses was quite a puzzle. During the recent snmmer the following stanza was heard:

The moon come down like a piper's stem,
The sun 'fuse to shine,
An' ev'y star disappear,
King Jesus set me free.

Inquiry was made in order to see if the words had not been misunderstood. The older negroes gave this version and insisted that it was correct, but none of them could explain what it meant. It was thought that perhaps it was a figure applied to the moon's rays or that the loss of the sun might have meant the peculiar appearance of the moon. Anyway, they maintained, this was the "way we got de song an' guess it must be right." The words of the original song were,

The moon run down in purple stream,
The sun forbear to shine,
An' ev'y star disappear,
King Jesus shall be mine,

of which there seemed to be several versions. Other verses that are found to-day are:

As I went down in de valley one day,
I fell upon my knees,
I begged and cried fer pardon,
The Lord did give me ease.

Free, free, my Lord,
Free, free, my Lord,
Free, free, my Lord,
To march de heaven's highway.

The Lord called Moses,
Moses refuse to answer,

Free, free, etc.

My mother look at de son an' smile,
My Father look at me,
My mother turn my soul from hell,
King Jesus set me free,

is an unusual variation and interpretation of the old song; just how and when the negro inserted the idea of mother would be difficult to ascertain; perhaps it came from "master," or more likely it was introduced by them while they interpreted *father* and *son* as names of the ordinary members of a human family. The original form seems to have been,

De Father, he looked on de Son and smiled,
De Son, he looked on me;

De Father, he redeemed my soul from hell ;
An' de Son, he set me free.

The chorus, too, has been much confused and is given as "*Children light on dat cross, God bless you forever mo'.*" The song is not a common one among the negroes and is not known, apparently, among the younger ones. In contrast with this favorite of the older negroes may be given a favorite of the younger generation, "Glad I got religion." The repetition represents pretty well the relative depth of the feeling which the convert feels. But he loves to sing it for its pleasing sound and for the faith it gives him in his own religious state. The song is a long and continued chorus and may well be taken as a type of the song which reflects the negro's feeling of immunity from sin.

I 'm so glad, so glad ; I 'm so glad, so glad,
Glad I *got religion*, so glad,
Glad I *got religion*, so glad.

I 'm so glad, so glad; I 'm so glad, so glad,
I 'm *glad all over*, so glad,
I 'm *glad all over*, so glad.

I 'm so glad, so glad ; I 'm so glad, so glad,
Glad I bin' *changed*, so glad.
Glad I bin' *changed*, so glad.

And so he continues singing; he is glad that he is *goin' to heaven*, he is glad that he is *not a sinner*, glad he has been *set free*, and many other such states. Then when he has finished he begins all over again, if he wishes and sings: "Sister, ain't you glad? Brother, ain't you glad? " and goes through with as many of these as he wishes, *preacher*, *mourner*, *auntie*, and the others.

The "sinner-man" is the theme for many verses of the negro favorites. Directed at him are warnings and admonitions. He is told what he must do and when ; how he must do and why. He is told of the experiences of the Christians and he is told of the doom of the damned. The negro rejoices over his own safety and boasts of the sinner's destruction ; at the same time he constantly refers to the "po' sinner" in a sympathetic way. But the sinner must be warned :

God knows it 's time, it 's time, it 's time,
That a sinner was makin' up his min'
It 's time, it 's time he was makin' up his min' to die.

A sinner was walkin' off his time, his time,
An' when my God call him he did not have the *time*,
God know it was time, it was time, it was time for him to die.

Again the words of the righteous to the sinner are driven home by repetition, and, by a dark and dismal picture,

O hell is deep an' hell is wide,
O hell is deep an' hell is wide,
O hell is deep an' hell is wide,
O hell ain't got no bottom or side.

Well before I lay in hell all day, hell all day,
Well before I lay in hell all day, hell all day,
Well before I lay in hell all day, hell all day,
I goin' to sing an' pray myself away, self away.

O sinner don't you let this harves' pass, harves' pass,
O sinner don't you let this harves' pass, harves' pass,
O sinner don't you let this harves' pass, harves' pass,
Do you die an' got to hell at las', hell at las'.

The sinner may be a *gambler* or a *dancer* or a *rogue* or a *drunkard*. But each name has the same signification in the religious phraseology of the negro song. There are various ways of *repenting* and of *serving the Lord* just as there are as many ways of offending and sinning against him. "Workin' on the Building" appeals to the average negro.

If I wus a sinner man, I tell you what I 'd do,
I 'd lay down all my sinful ways an' work on the building, too.

I'm workin' on the building fer my Lord,
Fer my Lord, fer my Lord,
I'm workin' on the building fer my Lord,
I'm workin' on the building, too.

If I wus a gamblin' man, I tell you what I 'd do,
I'd lay down all my gamblin', an' work on the building, too.

If I was a ho-munger, I tell you what I 'd do,
I 'd lay down all my munglin' and work on the building, too.

And so he sings for the *dancer* and the *drunkard* and the "*cussin' man.*" So in another song the negro sings of the *sinners* and *mourners.*

If I wus a mourner jus' like you,
'u-m-u',
I'd go to church an' try to come thru',
'um-u'.

When I was a mourner, um-u', jus' lak you,
I prayed an' prayed till I come thru, um-u'.

Upon de mountain King Jesus spoke, um-u',
Out of his mouth come fier an smoke, um-u'.
Now mourner won't you please come on, um-u',
An' join us in that heavenly lan', um-u'.

In the "Downward road is crowded" a mournful picture is given of the sinner who failed to repent. His example is held up for the contemplation of those who are following in his steps.

Young people who delight in sin,
I tell you what I lately seen,
A po' godless sinner die,
An' he said: "In hell I soon 'll lie."

Hark, the downward road is crowded, crowded, crowded,
Yes the downward road is crowded with onbelievin' souls.

He call his mother to his bed,
An' these is the dyin' words he said,
Mother, mother, I long farewell,
Your wicked son is damned in hell.

He dance an' play hisself away,
An' still put off his dyin' day,
Until at las' ole death was sent,
An' it 'us too late fer him to repent.

They also sing of *mother* and *sister* being called to the bedside. The old plantation song of the same name had a similar chorus but the stanzas were quite different.

When I wus a sinner,
I loved my distance well,
But when I come to fin' myself,
I was hangin' over hell.

Ole Satan's might busy,
He follers me night an' day,
An' every where I 'pinted,
Dere's something in my way.

The Lord will come to judge the world and *wake up the dead.* It is the supreme ambition of the singer to be ready to meet his Lord when He comes. Just what form the Lord will take the negro does not say; perhaps it will be in a *cloud* or *fire* or He will come as in the days of Moses. "My Lord 's comin' again" gives a general conception.

O my Lord 's comin' again,
O my Lord 's comin' again,
(*Talk about it:*)
Yes my Lord 's comin' again,
It may be las' time, I don't know.

Well he 's comin' to judge the worl',
Well he 's comin' to judge the worl',
(*Talk about it:*)

Yes my Lord 's comin' to judge the worl',
It may be las' time, I don't know.

Well you had better put off lyin' shoes,
Well you better put off lyin' shoes,
(*Talk about it:*)
Better put off lyin' shoes,
For it may be las' time, I don't know.

And so he sings "Better put off *dancin'* shoes", "better put off *gamblin'* shoes". For the sinner's shoes will not be suitable to "walk on the cross". He sings: "God's goin' to wake up the Dead" and makes a beautiful melody out of the simple repetition.

Goin' to wake up the dead,
Goin' to wake up the dead,
God goin' to wake up the dead,
Who 's a sleepin' in the grave,
God is goin' to wake up the dead.
You had better min' my brother how you walk on the cross,
God 's goin' to wake up the dead;
If yo' right foot slip, then yo' soul be los'
God goin' wake up the dead.

Then "you better min' my *sister*, my *brother*, my *mother*, my *preacher*" are sung. The old song contained words similar to the lines just given, with the chorus: "*De young lambs mus' fin' de way*":

My brudder better mind how you walk on de cross,
For yo' foot might slip an' yo' soul git lost,

Better mind dat sun, and see how she run,
An' mind don't let her catch ye wid yer works undone.

But the sinner sometimes gets confused, it would seem; sometimes he heeds the preacher's warnings, sometimes he scoffs at them. Often he does not hear them. More rarely he inquires into conditions. In the lines which follow the negroes make each a stanza, repeating three times. It perhaps represents the retort of the "*sinner man.*"

Some goin' thru' Jordan, some tryin' to go 'round.
The Mef 'dis' they say sprinklin', de Baptis say' baptize.
Now Lord the sinner man so hard to believe,
Now Lord sinner man want you to show him de way

But the sinner gets little reply to his inquiries. "Time is comin' when sinner mus' die" and there is none so pitiable as the lost sinner.

Sinner, die, sinner die,
Sinner dies wid his head hung down,
Sinner die, sinner die,
Sinner die in de midnight dew.

Sinner die, sinner die,
Sinner die, with achin' heart,
Sinner die, sinner die,
Sinner die with weary min',

Stump'ty up an' stump'ty down,
Time is comin' when sinner mus' die,
Hurry home, hurry home;
Time is a comin' sinner mus' die.
Don't you let that sinner change yo' min',
Time is comin' sinner mus' die.
Hurry home, hurry home;
Time is comin' sinner mus' die.

The plantation song of some years ago, sometimes called "O sinner, you better get ready", had the same line refrain, "Time is a comin' dat sinner mus' die." The repetition of "sinner die", is a new addition. In the old song were lines similar to those quoted:

O sinner man you better pray,
For it look a like judgment every day.

I heard a lumb'ring in de sky,
Dat make a me tink my time was nigh.

I heard of my Jesus a many one say,
Could 'move poor sinner's sins away.

Yes, I'd rather pray myself away,
Dan to lie in hell an' burn a one day.

I think I heard my mother say—
'T was a pretty thing to serve the Lord.

O when I git to heaven I'll be able fer to tell,
O how I shun dat dismal hell.

In addition to the line-refrain which was sung after each line of the song, an additional chorus followed at intervals; this chorus had "ready my Lord" where the new one has a short line, "Hurry home".

Oh, sinner, you 'd better get ready, ready my Lord,
Oh, sinner, you 'd better get ready.

An interesting type of song is that in which an imaginary conversation is carried on between two parties. If the song is correctly

rendered the leader or one part of the chorus sing the first part or take the words of one of the speakers, while the other chorus take up the other speaker's words. Both then join in the grand refrain, which in the following song is "Lord, I'm on my way".

Sinner, what you goin' to do
When de devil git you?
What you goin' do
When de devil git you?
What you goin' do
When de devil git you?
Lord, I'm on my way.

I 'm goin' run to the rocks.
Well, they can't hide you.
Goin' run to the rocks—
They can't hide you;
Run to the rocks,
Well, they can't hide you,
Lord, I'm on my way.

I'm goin' to run to the water;
An' water goin' to cry "fire",
Goin' to run to the water,
An' water cry "fire",
Run to the water,
An' water cry "fire",
Lord, I'm on my way.

And so the sinner will then "run to the mountain," and "De mountain fly open" or "De mountain cry mercy." The sinner must needs be hopeless at his death and there is neither mercy nor pity for him. It is the idea of the negro that at the great day "we won't be bothered with them any mo'". A sad picture he makes of the poor and forsaken man who dies "with achin' heart", with "weary min'", and with his "head hung down". Consequently it is not surprising to find appeals of all sorts made to the sinner man; now he is told of his doom, now of possible salvation, now of the joys of being saved, now of immediate satisfaction. Sung like the above song is "Come, sinner, come".

Won't you come, won't you come?
Come, sinner, come;
Great day of wrath is comin',
Come, sinner, come.

Look over yonder what I see;
Come, sinner, come;
Two tall angels comin' after me,
Come, sinner, come.

In the same manner he sings, "Won't you come an' see yo' Lord?" and "Ole Satan like a snake in de grass, Always in some sister's path," "Ole Satan weahs mighty loose ole shoe, Ef you don't min' gwine slip it on you". "Up on hill side King Jesus spoke, Out of his mouth come fier an' smoke", "Down in de valley, down on my knees, Ask de Lord to save me if He please", and others. The plantation song asked,

O whar you runnin', sinner?
I do love de Lord;
De Judgment day is comin',
I do love de Lord;

You 'll see de worl' on fire,
I do love de Lord;
You 'll see de element a meltin',
I do love de Lord.

Besides these stanzas there were sung the various other warnings such as have been given in the idea of Judgment and Resurrection already noted. In the old slave song the sinner asks:

My Lord, My Lord, what shall I do?
An' heaven bell ring an' praise God.

What shall I do for hiding place?
I run to de sea but de sea run dry.
I run to de gate but de gate shut fast.
No hiding place for sinner dere.
For I am gone an' sent to hell.

Instead of the regular refrain which is sung by the chorus of voices in response to a line by the leader, the negroes often respond with "um-m'" in a general mingling of chant, humming, and "amens". For the most part they do this with closed lips; the volume is surprisingly strong, however, and makes a stirring effect. The meaning of the expression is something like "Yes?" or "Of course, we know it is true" or "Sure, you talkin' brother". The singer says: "I look for Jesus all my days", and the chorus answers, "*um-u'*", and he then continues,

An' when I found him this is what he said,
um-u'
Yo' sin forgiven an' you soul set free,
um-u'

I pray all night, an' I pray all day, um-u', um-u',
Then my Lord taken my sins away, um-u', um-u'.

Nex' day, nex' day while walkin' along, um-u', um-u',
I heard a voice an' saw no one, um-u', um-u',
It said, sinner man, you better come home, um-u', um-u'.

One day I was walkin' long dat lonesome road, um-u', um-u',
King Jesus spoke unto me an' lifted off dat load, um-u'.

Again, "Brother, you 'd Better be a Prayin'", while mostly repetition makes a long song when sung to its limit. "*Sister*", "*Sinner*", "*Backslider*", "*Mourner*", "*Children*", each serves to make a complete stanza of eight lines:

Brother you 'd better be a prayin',
Brother, you 'd better be a prayin',
My brother, you 'd better be a prayin',
An' I 'll be carried above,
An' I 'll be carried above,
An' I 'll be carried above,
I 'll see king Jesus in his reign,
An' I 'll be carried above.

The chorus song, "Wheel in middle of Wheel" is most likely a variation of the old song "Wheel in a wheel" which was "run by *love*, by *faith*," and was sometimes conceived as a chariot wheel upon which "gwine take a ride, On de chariot wheel", for "de chariot's comin', O my Lord". Sometimes the wheel was conceived as being a "Little wheel a-turnin' in my heart", in which case it signified some sort of feeling. The phrase means nothing more than a chorus in the present-day song.

O sinner man, how can it be?
Wheel in de middle of wheel,
If you don't serve God, you can't serve me,
Wheel in de middle of wheel.

In the wheel, in the wheel,
Wheel in de middle of wheel,
In the wheel, in the wheel,
Wheel in the middle of wheel.

Well don't you know it 's prayin' time?
Wheel in middle of wheel;
Lay down yo' way an' go to God,
Wheel in middle of wheel.

Well don't you know it 's mournin' time?
Wheel in middle of wheel;
He 'll hear yo' prayers an' sanctify,
Wheel in middle of wheel.

Jesus and God are represented as "Listenin' all the day long", and the sinner is directed to pray. The plantation songs called to him: "Where you goin' sinner? O come back, don't go dat way." And one of the singers affirmed that "about the the break o' day" his sins were forgiven and "his soul set free." The song "Jesus is a listenin'" seems at some time to have been considerably corrupted. The negroes have sung it: "*I've* been a listenin' all day long," and all night long, to hear some sinner pray." However, the correct version now seems to be:

Jesus is a listenin' all the day long,
He keep listenin' all the day long,
He keep listenin' all the day long,
For to hear some sinner pray.

If I was a sinner I would please him,
I would pray an' pray a day,
An' when I got to heaven,
So he could say he heard me pray.

But in "Bear yo' Burden, sinner", another version is given of the same idea. This song is a popular one, while the figures used give a definite conviction.

The Lord is a listenin' all the day long,
Bear yo' burden sinner,
If you will only pray, he will bear you on,
Bear yo' burden in the heat o' the day.

Bear yo' burden, sinner,
Bear yo' burden, sinner,
Bear yo' burden in the heat o' the day.

I 'm goin' home fer to see my Lord,
Bear yo' burden, sinner,
An' don't you wish you could go 'long,
Bear yo' burden, let in the heat.

The way to bear yo' burden is to get down on yo' knees,
Bear yo' burden, sinner, let in the heat,
Ask God to forgive you if you please,
Bear yo' burden in the heat of the day.

This last stanza is an improvisation made by a young negro of some twenty-five years, although he claimed that it belonged to the song that was regularly sung, maintaining that they only forgot to sing it in the church on that special occasion. "True Religion" gives one view of the requisites of him who will be saved. The song

is based in form on a current secular song, and belongs to the class of colloquies.

Well you must have that true religion,
You must have true religion an' yo' soul converted,
You must have that true religion.
Or you can't cross there.

Where are you goin', sinner,
Where are you goin', I say?
I goin' down to de river of Jorden,
An' you can't cross dere.

He continues, "Where are you goin' *gambler*, *backslider*, *drunkard*, *liar*, *hypocrite?*" and answers each with, "An' you can't cross there," while the entire chorus, "You must have that true religion," is often repeated after each. The sinner is asked still other questions, one of which is given in the song "Waitin'".

Why does you tarry, sinner,
Why does you wait so long?
For my Lord is a waitin',
Why don't you come to His call?

He is waitin', Lord,
He is waitin', Lord,
He is a-waitin' fer the good Lord,
To come, My Lord.

But when my Lord get here,
You want have time to pray at all,
For he is goin' to judge you,
An' hell you be bound.

The negro preacher often rebukes his flock for talking about each other in uncomplimentary terms. Sometimes the "sisters" who do not like the preacher retort variously, "I heard you talkin 'bout So and So, you know I did" or "We gwine talk 'bout you," or "Yes, you knows it." Slander and gossip are fast runners and the average negro assumes that somebody is talking about him or something which he has done. Out of this has grown the song "Talk about me" and others.

Yes, I know you goin' talk 'bout me,
Yes, I know you goin' talk 'bout me,

For you talk 'bout my father when he 's on his knees a prayin',
An' I know you goin' talk 'bout me.

So likewise he sings "I know you 're goin talk about me" because

"you talk about my mother when she's on her bed a-dyin'; he actually sings *father, brother, mother, sister, mourner, preacher,* to both "on his knees a prayin'", and "on bed a dyin'." A very popular stanza which is regularly sung in a number of songs goes: "You may talk about me just as you please, I 'm goin' to talk about you when I git on my knees."

The old slave and plantation song asked: "Who 'll jine de Union?" saying, "Say, ef you belong to de union ban', den here 's my heart an' here 's my hand." There have been societies known as "The Union" or "Union Band" both in the church and outside. The name "Union" itself is a favorite one among the negro societies and organizations. It was thought in the old days that a union band would march to heaven and that these only would be enabled to reach the destination. It is almost certain that a number of references in their songs referred to the Union army in and after the war. However, the exact origin of the song as it is now sung has not been found, but appears to be a general corruption of several old songs.

Get in the Union, Jesus is a listenin',
Get in the Union, Jesus die.
Well, won't you get in the Union?
Jesus is a listenin', Jesus die.

Where was Ezekiel when the church fell down?
Down in de valley wid his head hung down.

Hypocrite, hypocrite, God do despise,
Tongue so keen till he will tell lies.

Upon the mountain Jehober spoke,
Out of his mouth come fier an' smoke.

With this chorus are sung also as already given, "Satan, the snake in the grass", "Ole satan weah mighty loose ole shoe", etc. The "Hallelujah" so common among the old songs is less frequently heard now: it will be found to some degree in the shouting songs and songs of heaven.

Not the least among the warnings to the sinner were to be reckoned the times when "Gable" should blow his horn. "Gable" has been proverbial among the negroes; Gabriel and the trumpet are, however, significant in the same way among the whites in vulgar reference. Many ideas of "Gable's" trumpet have appeared in the negro songs. Sometimes it is "blow louder, Gable." "How loud mus' I blow?"

Reference has already been made to these lines. The song "Blow, Gable, blow" has changed considerably from the old plantation songs of the same name.

Blow Gable, at the judgment,
Blow Gable, at the judgment bar,
For my God is a talkin' at the judgment,
For my God is a talkin' at the judgment bar.

Now won't you blow Gable at the judgment?
For my God is a preachin' at the judgment bar.

Now won't you blow Gable at the judgment bar?
Well, I 'm goin' to meet my preacher at the judgment bar.

In the same manner, making a four-line stanza of each one, are sung, "Goin' to meet brother, mother, sister, etc.", and also "My God is a walkin', tryin', etc.," at the judgment bar. So, too, it is "*prayin'* time, *mournin'* time, *singin'* time, *shoutin'* time, *tryin'* time, etc., at the judgment bar." This song may be given as the last one of the class peculiar to warnings and admonitions to sinners. It closes with still other verses that give vivid pictures of the judgment bar.

Well, sinners, keep a prayin' at the judgment bar.
Well, it's too late to pray at the judgment bar.
Why didn't you take heed at the judgment?
Some come crippled at judgment.
Oh, I look fer my mother, brother, sister, at de judgment.

Both the sinner and the seeker has a "hard time" during some time in his experience. The duties of everyday life, too, often seem hard. Now on his knees, now shouting, now sorrowful and now glad, the negro comes from "hanging over hell" to die and "set by de Fadder's side." The average negro appears to pity himself, and his song intensifies the feeling. The songs that follow may be classed as those that give the state of uncertainty and doubt, together with pity mingled now and then with the note of triumph. In "Oh, what a hard time", *sisters*, *brothers*, *children*, *preachers*, *seekers*—all have the same difficulties.

Oh, what a hard time, Oh, what a hard time,
Oh, what a hard time—All God's children have a hard time.
Oh, what a hard time, oh, what a hard time,
Oh, what a hard time, my Lord had a hard time, too.

So in another division will be given the song "My Trouble is Hard",

the idea of which seems to be derived from the old plantation songs, though the new song is entirely different from the old ones. The plantation negroes used to sing "Nobody knows the trouble I 've seen", in which they were "sometimes up, sometimes down, sometimes almost to de groun'." Others sung it "Nobody knows the trouble I see, or I 've had", and asked: "Brother, sister, preacher, will you pray for me?" In the same pathetic tone the "Sinner man" gives another phase of the feeling.

My mother 'n yo' mother both daid an' gone,
My mother 'n yo' mother both daid an' gone,
My mother 'n yo' mother both daid an' gone,
Po' sinner man he so hard to believe.

My folks an' yo' folks both daid an' gone,
Po' sinner man he so hard to believe.

My brother 'n yo' brother both daid an' gone,
Po' sinner man he so hard to believe.

In the same way "my sister", etc., completes the song, with favorite lines, "Down in de valley", "Upon mountain Jehober spoke", etc., being inserted as often as they desire. "Hanging over hell" gives more intensity to the feeling of the sinner. He says:

When I wus hangin' over hell, over hell,
When I wus hangin' over hell, over hell,
Well, I had no one to pity poor me, poor me.

Well, my mother sick an' my father daid, father daid,
Well, my mother sick an' my father daid, father daid,
Well I ain't got no one to pity poor me, poor me.

Well, I ain't got no one to pray for me, to pray for me.

I ain't got no one to feel for me, feel for me.

Likewise he has no one to "*cry*" for him, to "*mourn*" or to "*care*" for him. It will be noticed that the negroes insert the word "well" frequently. There is no regularity or rule for its use; it apparently gives the song a more plastic turn and makes it seem more conversational. In some of their songs they insert in the same way, "says". and "er", "a", "an", at will. The *struggle* is well represented by the song "Keep inchin' along", which was also common in the old plantation melodies; the chorus is the same, while the words are entirely different from the older song.

Keep er-inchin' erlong, keep er-inchin erlong,
Jesus 'll come bye'm bye,
Keep er-inchin', keep er-inchin erlong,
Jesus 'll come bye'm bye.

De road is rocky here below,
But Jesus 'll come bye'm bye,
But Jesus leads me as I go,
Jesus 'll come bye'm bye.

Sometimes I hangs my head an' cries,
But Jesus 'll come bye'm bye.
An' He gwi' wipe mer weepin' eyes,
Jesus 'll come bye'm bye.

Uh, run 'long mourner an' git yo' crown,
By yo' Father's side set down.

I'm glad that I'm bo'n ter die,
Frum trouble here my soul gwi' fly.

In the same hopeful strain the negro sings "Boun' ter cross Jord'n in dat Mornin'," which has a large number of stanzas, none of which have any similarity of meaning to the general theme.

Yonder come er sister all dressed in black,
She look lak er hipercrit jes' got back,
I'm boun' ter cross Jord'n in dat mornin'.

Cross me over,
Great Jehover,
My Lord, I'm boun' ter cross Jord'n in dat mornin'.

See dat Christian on his knees,
He's gwin' ter cross dem jasper seas,
I'm boun' ter cross Jorden in dat mornin'.

Swing low chariots in er line,
Carry me ter glory in due time,
I'm boun' ter cross Jord'n in dat mornin'.

Ain't but the one thing grieve my min'
Sister goin' to heaven an' leave me behin',
I'm boun' ter cross Jord'n in dat mornin'.

It is a favorite theme of the negroes to sing much of their "Lord" and "God". Much has been noted of the names and attributes which Deity holds in the negro's songs. As his friend the negro believes that God is always true; consequently he sings his loyalty to Him. The old plantation song "Tell Jesus" had as its chorus: "Tell Jesus done done all I can, Tell Jesus done done all I can, Tell Jesus done done all I can, I can't do no more". Very much like it is the song

"For my Lord" that is much in demand among the present-day negroes.

I goin' to do all I can fer my Lord,
I goin' to do all I can fer my Lord,
I goin' to do all I can fer my Lord,
I goin' to do all I can fer my Lord,
I do all I can till I can't do no more,
I goin' do all I can fer my Lord.

In the same way he sings "I goin' *weep* all I can till I can't weep no more", "I goin' *pray* all I can till I can't pray no more", and "*sing*" and "*mourn*" and "*work*" for his Lord. The phrases "till I can't do no mo'", and the others are characteristic of the negro's prayers. He usually closes his church prayers, "Now Lord, when we's done prayin' an' can't pray no mo'; when we's done meetin' an' can't meet no mo'", etc. The closing scene, the final act of life, seems to appeal to the negro with wonderful dramatic power. It is in the *end* that he himself will be great; it is then that God and Jesus and the angels will be made manifest, and it is there in the new home that his condition will be one of ease and rest, at the same time that it is one of prominence. He sings "Gwi' lay down my life fer my Lord".

De Lord giv' me mer trumpet an' tole me ter blow,
He giv' me mer cummission an' tole me ter go.

Fer my Lord, fer my Lord,
Fer my Lord, gwi' lay down my life fer my Lord.

You can hinder me here but you can't hinder me dere,
For de Lord in Heaven gwi' hear my prayer.

De enemy's great but my Cap'n is strong,
U'm fightin' fer de city an' de time ain't long.

When I git dar I'll be able fer to tell,
How I whipped ole Satan at de door ob hell.

Mer head got wet wid de midnight dew,
Dat mornin' star was shinin' too.

So again the negro magnifies his Lord in "a wearyLan'" and makes both a striking picture and a pleasing song. His Lord is not only "a *walkin'* in a weary lan', but he is also a "*doctor*",a "*preacher*" and a "*shelter*". Thus he pictures him "*walkin'*" "*talkin'*" "*preachin'*", and "*healin'*" in the weary land.

My Lord 's a walkin' in the weary lan',
In a weary lan', in a weary lan',

Yes, my Lord walkin' in weary lan',
He 's a shelter in a mighty storm.

Likewise he is a healer in a *mighty storm* or in *the time of storm*. It is but natural that the negro should call upon the Lord to remember him. The old plantation song "Do Lord remember me" was apparently based upon the idea of being remembered at Christmas times; indeed the negroes always ask to be remembered at such a time by the "whitefolks". They were always remembered and often their homes were made happy. The song asked: "O do Lord remember me, O do Lord remember me, O do remember me until de year roll round, Do Lord remember me." The song now current is most likely not the same song but an entirely different one.

Do my Lord remember me,
Do my Lord remember me,
Do my Lord remember me,
Do Lord remember me.

Upon de housetop an' can't come down,
Do Lord remember me.
Upon de house an' can't come down.
Do Lord remember me.

When I am hungry do feed me Lord,
Do Lord remember me.
When I am thirsty do give me drink,
Do Lord remember me.

The negroes sometimes call the following song the "riddle song", asking "who is the Rock", while the answer comes back, like the Psalmist, "King Jesus is the Rock".

Lead me to the Rock, lead me to the Rock,
Lead me to the Rock that is higher an' higher.
O, Lead me to the Rock,
Yes, lead me to the Rock that is higher an' higher.

King Jesus is the Rock, yes, King Jesus is the Rock,
King Jesus is the Rock that is higher an' higher,
O King Jesus is the Rock,
Yes, King Jesus is the Rock that is higher an' higher.

Standing on the Rock, yes standing on the Rock,
Standing on the Rock that is higher an' higher.
O, standing on the Rock,
Yes, standing on the Rock that is higher an' higher.

As Jesus is the Rock so the negroes have sung "Dere 's no one

lak' Jesus". The chorus-line was common in the old songs ; the verses of the song of to-day are different.

I think I heard a rumblin' in de sky,
Dar 's no one lac Jesus.
It mus' be mer Lord passin' by,
Dar 's no one lac Jesus.

Stan' still, walk study, keep de faith,
Dar 's no one lak' Jesus.

Sister Mary went up on de mount'n top,
Dar 's no one lak' Jesus.
She sung a li'l song an' she never did stop,
Dar 's no one lak' Jesus.

She argued wid de Fadder an' chatter'd wid de Son,
Dar 's no one lak' Jesus.
She talk 'd erbout the ole worl' she cum frum,
Dar 's no one lak' Jesus.

The song " Gi 'me Jesus " was said to have been the product of "over-free spirit and super-religiousness" just after the war. The negro claims that the white man took him at his word when he sang, " Gi' me Jesus, You may have all this worl ", and has left him nothing in this world but Jesus. At least this is one view of the song, which is represented as a bargain which the white man wants the negro to keep. The song is a typical and well known one, said to have been first sung by a blind negro preacher.

In de mornin' when I rise,
In de mornin' when I rise,
In de mornin' when I rise,
Giv' me Jesus.

Giv' me Jesus,
Giv' me Jesus,
You may hab' all dis worl',
Giv' me Jesus.

Ef it 's midnight when I rise,
Ef it 's midnight when I rise,
Ef it 's midnight when I rise,
Giv' me Jesus.

Jes' fore day when I cried,
Giv' me Jesus.

When I wade death's cold stream,
Giv' me Jesus.

The negro says that if you love Jesus, it seems to him that you

"can't keep it", and that you are duty bound to let the world know it. The custom is a common one of asking "members" at the class meeting and revival services whether or not they "love the Lord". It is the duty of the class leader to see to the religious welfare of the members. The song "Love the Lord" represents this phase of worship.

Well, did you say that you love Jesus?
Did you say that you love the Lord?

Yes, I say that I love Jesus.
Yes, I say I love the Lord.

All I wants to know is, "Does you love Jesus?"
All I wants to know is, "Does you love the Lord?"

Yes, I say that I love Jesus,
Yes, I say I love the Lord.

If you love Jesus, you can't keep it,
All I want to know is, "Does you love the Lord?"

Yes, my mother, I love Jesus,
Yes, my mother, I love the Lord.

The chorus then varies from "Yes, I *say*" to "Yes, my *mother*", "Yes, my *sister*", "Yes, my *brother*".

In striking contrast to his earthly life, the negro sings of his heavenly home. It will be seen in the study of his social songs that home plays a small part in their subject matter. It is true that the negro has little love of home or devotion to loved ones. Perhaps for this very reason he expects to have a better home in the beyond. He wants that which is ideal and impractical; he wants that which will come without effort. If in slavery days he had no home, it was natural that he should look to Heaven for his home. This conception, intensified by the negro's emotional nature and self-pity, is still prominent. Not only is his home to be a happy one, but it is to be exclusive; only the fortunate, of whom he is the chiefest, may go there. This class of songs—of Heaven and home—is perhaps as large as any. The negro sings:

I got a home where liars can't go,
Don't you see?
Jus' between the heaven an' earth,
Where my Saviour bled an' died,
I got a home where liars can't go,
Don't you see?

I got a home where sinners can't go,
Don't you see?
Jus' between the earth an' sky,
Where my Saviour bleed an' die,
Don't you see?

When the earth begin to shake,
Don't you see?
You better get a ticket or you 'll be late,
Don't you see?

In the same way the singers repeat, using the words "*drunkards*," "*hypocrits*", and other sinners. Sometimes instead of saying "I got a home where the drunkards can't come", the sinner will say "where the drunkards can't *find me*". Another version of the same song is found in different localities:

I got a home in the Rock,
Don't you see?
Just between the heaven an' earth,
Well, yes, I got a home in the Rock,
Don't you see?

Judas was a deceitful man,
Don't you see?
Well he betrayed the innercent Lam',
Well he lost a home in the Rock,
Don't you see?

Well the sun refuse to shine,
Don't you see?
The sun refuse to shine,
An' the sun refuse to shine,
Don't you see?

God don't talk like a natural man,
Don't you see?
God don't talk like a natural man,
He talk so sinners can understan',
Don't you see?

Well I don't want to stumble,
Don't you see?
Well I don't want to fall,
I read that writin' on de wall,
Don't you see?

The "Home in the Rock" and the "Rock of ages" mean little to the negroes; they are suitable terms and appeal to their sense of sound. Like other peoples, the negroes have inserted them into their religion as forceful symbols. Interesting comparisons may be made

in a later chapter. The chorus of "Heaven" hummed in a monotone, with lips sometimes closed, makes a beautiful song, and one that appeals much to both old and young negroes.

You got a robe, I got a robe,
All God's children got a robe,
Goin' try on my robe an' if it fits me,
Goin' to wear it all round God's heaven.

Heaben—heaben, ev'ybody goin' to heaben
An' I 'm goin' dere, too.

Gamblers dere an' gamblers here,
I'm so glad dat God declare,
Dere ain't no gamblers in heaven.

This version and wording is rather that of the children, who are very fond of singing it. They continue "Heaven so high you can't go over it", "Heaven so low you can't go under it", "Heaven so deep you can't go through it", and "Heaven so wide you can't go round it". The most common form of the song is a variation of the above. *Sinners*, *gamblers*, *dancers*, *liars*, *drunkards* are *everywhere*, but not in Heaven.

Well there are sinners here and sinners there,
An' there are sinners everywhere,
But I thank God that God declare,
That there ain't no sinners in heaven.

Heaven, Heaven,
Everybody talkin' 'bout heaven an' goin' there,
Heaven, Heaven,
Goin' to shine all 'round God's heaven.

Well there are drunkards here an' drunkards there,
An' there are drunkards everywhere,
But I'm so glad that God declare,
There ain't no drunkards in heaven.

Heaven, Heaven,
Preachers all preachin' 'bout heaven an' goin' there,
Heaven, Heaven,
Goin' to shine all 'round God's heaven.

As has been indicated, many of the negro songs consist of single lines repeated in couplets or by fours in order to give length to the singing. The most simple sentences that could be devised may serve as a good song. The negro happens to think of an ordinary truth; he then sings it to his tune and chorus.

I'm goin' to be a Christian if I keep a prayin' on,
I goin' to be a Christian if I keep a prayin' on,
I goin' to be a Christian, I 'm goin' to be a Christian,
I goin' to be a Christian if I keep a prayin' on.

An' when I git religion, I goin' to keep a prayin' on.

I goin' to see my Jesus if I keep a prayin' on.

I goin' to see my mother if I keep a prayin' on.

In the same way he is "going to see" his *father*, *brother*, *master*, *preacher*, singing each line four times, altering them as he desires and putting in any chorus that appeals to his fancy. The next song shows a typical variation of a line, and the negro sometimes sings the second version with more determination than the first.

Lord, I want to go to heaven fer to stan' my trials,
Lord, I want to go to heaven fer to stan' my trials,
Yes, I want to go to heaven fer to stan' my trials,
Great Judgment day.

Well, *I 'm goin'* to heaven fer to stan' my trials,
An' *I 'm goin'* to heaven fer to stan' my trials,
Yes, *I 'm goin'* to heaven fer to stan' my trials,
Great Judgment day.

The darkeys used to sing, "Hail, hail, hail, I 'm gwine jine saints above, I'm on my journey home". So, too, in many of their songs the "promise Lan'" was held out as the goal of future happiness. So it is to-day. "On my journey home" and "Goin' to Heaven" represent the common conception.

Sister when you pray you mus' pray to de Lord,
For I hab some hopes ob glory,
I feel like, I feel like I 'm on my journey home,
I feel like, I feel like, I 'm on my journey home.

I 'll away, I 'll away to de promise lan',
My Father calls me, I mus' go,
To meet Him in de promise lan'.

I have a father in the promise lan',
Go meet him in de promise lan',
I feel like, I feel like I 'm on my journey home,
I feel like, I feel like I 'm on my journey home.

So, too, the singer has a *mother*, a *sister*, an *auntie* and others in the "promise lan'". Likewise he says instead of "sister when you pray," etc., *brother*, *member*, *mourner*, *sinner*, *preacher*, and the others.

As a rule morning signified to the negroes the time for going to heaven and for the resurrection. The morning star shining as a witness to his conversion, and the midnight dew typified the early morning time of his religion. "In the morning" is sung as of old.

I have been tempted, *O yes*,
An' I have been tried, *O yes*,
I have been to the river an' been baptize,
An' I want to go to heaven in the morning.

Won't you ride on Jesus?
Ride on Jesus, ride on crowning King,
For I want to go to heaven in the morning.

If you see my mother, *O yes*,
Please tell her for me, *O yes*,
That the angels in heaven done change my name,
An' I want to go to heaven in the morning.

So if you see "*brother John, sister Nancy*," and others makes the song complete. The song once so popular, "Yes, I'll be dere, When gen'ral roll call" is still heard occasionally. Many of these songs have been corrupted and changed, consolidated and revised into new songs. Such a song is "Study war no mo'", which combines the old camp meeting, "down by the river side", and a new element of *peace*, the origin of which is not known.

Well there 's goin' to be a big camp meetin',
Well there 's goin' to be a big camp meetin',
Well there 's goin' to be a big camp meetin',
Down by the river side.

Well, I ain't goin' to study war no mo',
Well, I ain't goin' to study war no mo',
Well, I ain't goin' to study war no mo'.

Well such a shoutin' an' prayin'
Down by the riverside.

Well I goin' to meet my sister,
Down by the riverside.

Well the brothers got to shoutin',
Down by the riverside.

Said the old singers: "Some o' dese mornin's, hope I'll see my mother, hope I'll jine de ban', hope I'll walk bout Zion, Talk wid de angels, Talk my trouble over" while they looked "away to hebben". Now the negro sings:

Gwine to weep, gwine to mourn,
Gwine to git up early in de morn,
Fo' my soul's goin' to heaven jes' sho 's you born,
Brother Gabriel goin' to blow his horn.

Goin' to sing, goin' to pray,
Goin' to pack all my things away,
For my soul 's goin' to heaven jes' sho 's you born,
Brother Gabriel gwine ter blow his horn.

"Pray come an' go wid me" sings the Christian, for "I 'm on my journey home to the New Jerusalem". If refused he says, "Now don't let me beg you to follow me, for I 'm on my journey home", and finally he sings, Well, brother come an' go wid me." If the sinner needs other exhortation he may listen to the mixed song "Dry bones goin' to rise ergain", in which there is first warning, then hope of glory.

Some go ter meetin' to sing an' shout,
Dry bones goin' ter rise again;
Fore six month deys all turned out,
Dry bones goin' ter rise again.
O little chillun, O little childun,
O lit'le childun, dry bones goin' rise ergin.

Talk erbout me but taint my fault,
Dry bones goin ter rise ergin;
But me an' Godermighty goin' walk an' talk,
Dry bones goin' ter rise ergin.

Ef you want ter go to heaven when you die,
Dry bones goin' rise ergin;
Jes' stop yo' tongue from tellin' lies,
Dry bones goin' ter rise ergin.

In the old plantation song Ezekiel was represented down in a valley "full of bones as dry as dust" and

He gib de bone a mighty shake,
Fin' de ole sinners too dry to quake,

Death for the Christian is *shouting:* death for the sinner is *doom.* "When I git to heaven, goin' shout on my knees" gives an accurate picture of what the negro conceives to be happiness. But he not only expects to shout while on earth and when he gets home, but even when he dies. For says he,

My mother dies a shoutin', an' I goin' die shoutin', too,
Yes, my mother died a shoutin' an' I goin' die shoutin', too,

My mother died a shoutin', my mother died a shoutin',
Yes, my mother died a shoutin' an' I goin' die shoutin', too.

Still his mother is not the only one who has died shouting; he sings in the same way of *father*, *preacher*, *brother*, *sister* and others; the slave song included "*Missus*" and "*Marster*" or "*Massa*". But shouting must not be all. The negro and his brothers, sisters, mother are all to die "*mournin'*", and "*prayin'*". In "Join de Heaven wid de Angels" the rich voice of one or two leaders and the swelling chorus produce an effect scarcely surpassed.

O join on, join my Lord,
Join de heaven wid de angels;
O join on, join my Lord,
Join de heaven wid de angels.

What kin' er shoes is dem you wear?
Join de heaven wid de angels;
Dat you kin' walk upon de air,
Join de heaven wid de angels.

Oh, God don't talk like a nat'al man,
Join de heaven wid de angels;
He talk to de sinner, he understan',
Join de heaven wid de angels.

I'm Baptis' bred an' I'm Baptis' bo'n,
Join de heaven wid de angels;
An' when I die dey 's a Baptis' gone,
Join de heaven wid de angels.

Jes' so de tree fall jes' so it lie,
Join de heaven wid de angels;
Jes so de sinner lib' jes' so he die,
Join de heaven wid de angels.

The song has been found in several forms among which one has it that *John* is to be in de heavens with the angels. In fact the probable origin of "join on" seems to have been "John saw de heaven wid de angels". In one of the old songs the singer answers,

Dem shoes I wears is gospel shoes,
View de lan', view de lan';
An' you can wear dem if you choose,
View de lan', view de lan'.

There are other references, too, besides the above, to the denominations of the negro churchmen. It has already been seen that the negro likes "bes'" the "shoutin' Mefodes'". So he says "There 's fire in de

eas' an' fire in de wes ; An' fire among de Methodes' ". He is loyal and proclaims : " Methodist, Methodist is my name, Methodist till I die, I 'll be baptize in the Methodist name, An' I 'll lib' on the Methodist side ". In the same way he is *Baptist* and *Presbyterian* ; the *Baptist* is the favorite church of the negro, however, and there are more Baptists than all other denominations combined.

The "Angel Band ", while a very simple song in which the chorus constitutes the greater part, is one of the most beautiful that the negroes sing. The tune is a variation of a well-known hymn used by the whites. The power of the song seems to lie in the tender interest which centres about the vivid portrayal of the little angels in the heavenly band. The chorus is repeated after each stanza, while each stanza itself is the repetition of a single line. From one to ten ; from ten to twenty and so on to one hundred is ordinarily sung, thus making a lengthy song. The children love to sing the chorus ; two forms are ordinarily found, varying the monotony enough to please the negro.

Dere 's one little, two little, three little angels,
Dere 's four little, five little, six little angels.
Dere 's seven little, eight little, nine little angels,
Dere 's ten little angels in de band.
Dere 's leben, dere 's twelve, dere 's thir'een little angels,
Dere 's fourteen, dere 's fifteen, dere 's sixteen little angels.
Dere 's seventeen, dere 's eighteen, dere 's nineteen little angels,
Dere 's twenty little angels in de band.

The " little " in the chorus is preferred to the " dere 's " as a rule, apparently serving to describe the angels. The stanzas of the song are equally as unlimited and as simple as the chorus. " Sunday morning " is the common factor to all of the verses ; sometimes it is omitted.

Jesus rose on Sunday mornin',
Jesus rose on Sunday mornin',
Jesus rose on Sunday mornin',
On Sunday mornin' so soon.

He rose an' flew away on Sunday mornin'.

My mother died on Sunday mornin'.

Oh was n't that sad on Sunday mornin'?

Dere 's goin' to be a big camp meetin' on Sunday mornin'.

Dere 's goin' to be a mournin' on Sunday mornin'.

Mourners got to shoutin' on Sunday mornin'.
I'm goin' away to leave you on Sunday mornin'.
Well, my sister's goin' to heaven on Sunday mornin'.

While this form of the song may be continued indefinitely, other verses may also be inserted. Instead of the "On Sunday mornin'" is often substituted "Fer to see my Lord".

Well, my sister's goin' to heaven fer to see my Lord,
To see my Lord, to see my Lord;
Well, my sister 's goin' to heaven fer to see my Lord,
What's de onbelievin' soul?

And so he continues with *preacher*, *brother*, *mother*, *auntie* and any others that he wishes to enumerate. As a shouting song or as a "collection" song, it is not surpassed.

The negro's fancies of the "Heaven's bright home" are not exceeded by the world's fairy tales. There are silver and golden slippers; there are crowns of stars and jewels and belts of gold. There are robes of spotless white and wings all bejewelled with heavenly gems. Beyond the jasper seas he will outshine the sun; the golden streets and the fruit of the tree of life are far superior to any golden apples or silver pears of a Mother Goose. In fact the negro's fairy stories centre on heaven; the children's definitions of heaven consisted entirely of pictures of splendor and glory. To this place the negro imagines he will go and who knows but that he may fly there?

Some o' dese mornin's bright an' fair,
Way in de middle of de air;
Gwi' hitch on my wings an' try de air,
Way in de middle of de air.

Come over, den, John saw de holy number,
Way in de middle of de air;
John saw de holy number,
Way in de middle of de air;

If yer wanter dream dem heavenly dreams,
Way in de middle of de air;
Lay yo' head on Jord'n's stream,
Way in de middle of de air.

I got a book goin' read it thru',
Way in de middle of de air,
I got my Jesus well as you,
Way in de middle of de air.

With a golden "band all round his waist, An' de palms ob victory in a-his hands", the negro sings in reality: "Pray come an' go wid me", for so vivid is his picture that he has been known to start up a post or pillar in the church, saying, "Good bye brothers, I'm gone". His songs make much of flying; different from that just quoted he repeats:

One mornin' soon,
One mornin' soon, my Lord,
One mornin' soon,
I goin' try the air,
I goin' try the air,
Pray come an' go wid me.

Well I got on my travellin' shoes,
Well I got on my travellin' shoes,
Well I got on my travellin' shoes,
Pray come an' go wid me.

He sings, too, "I goin' to put on my long white robe", "We'll try on de slippah shoe an' wear de golden belt". Again he sings of his doings in the *morning*, *noontime*, and *midnight*.

In the morning—um-u',
In the morning—um-u',
In the morning—um-u',
I goin' put on my golden shoes.

In the midnight—um-u',
In the midnight—um-u',
In the midnight—um-u',
I goin' put on my long white robe.

Talk about it—um-u',
Talk about it—um-u',
Talk about it—um-u,
I goin' wear that starry crown.

The angels and Jesus wear the starry crown and long white robes; there will be no separating line between us and God in the new world. "Oh how I long to go dere, too", sang the old negroes. Now he pictures again the appearance of Jesus.

Jesus, he wore the starry crown,
Jesus he wore the starry crown,
Jesus he wore the starry crown, starry crown.

How does you know he wore the crown?
How does you know he wore the crown?
How does you know he wore the crown? wore the crown?

For the Bible it tell me so,
For the Bible it tell me so,
For the Bible it tell me so, tell me so.

Then, too, Jesus "he wore the long white robe, for the Bible it tell me so." More than the *world* or *riches* or *dress* the singer claims he values the treasures of heaven. In this assertion he is doubtless sincere, both because he is thinking only of his religious state while he sings, and because he has little opportunity for obtaining these earthly riches. Says he:

I don't care for riches,
Neither dress so fine,
Jes' giv' me my long white robe,
An' I want my starry crown.

For my Lord done bin here,
Done bless my soul an' gone away.

Po' man goin' to heaven,
Rich man goin' to hell,
For po' man got his starry crown,
Rich man got his wealth.

This "ole worl' bin a hell to me" indicates the contrast between the everyday life of the world and that which the negro will enjoy after death. In his eagerness and impatience to rest in the "promise lan'," the negro does not always think kindly of the world and he does not care even though "Death is in dis lan'."

Ever since my Lord has set me free,
Death is in dis lan',
This ole worl' bin a hell to me,
Death is in dis lan'.

I'm so glad death is in dis lan',
I'm so glad death is in dis lan'.

O run 'long mourner 'n git yo' crown,
Death is in dis lan',
By yo' father's side set down,
Death is in dis lan'.

Some er dese mornin's bright and fair,
Death is in dis lan',
Gwin' r hitch on my wings an' try de air,
Death is in dis lan'.

If the negro expects to go to heaven and there mingle with God, the angels and his loved ones, he also expects to sing in all the glory

and splendor imaginable. The negroes used to sing of "jinin' de association, climbin' Jacob's ladder, climbin' higher an' higher, sittin' down at de welcome table, feastin' off 'n milk an' honey, tell God how you served me, jine de big baptizin", after which "den my little soul gwine shine." So they sang of a mother, father, brother in heaven who "outshines de sun", and ended by declaring that when they got to heaven "we will outshine de sun." In very much the same way the negroes sing to-day in one of their favorites, "Goin' to Outshine de Sun."

Well, my mother 's goin' to heaven,
She 's goin' to outshine the sun, *O Lord*,
Well, my mother's goin' to heaven,
She 's goin' to outshine the sun,
Yes, my mother 's goin' to heaven to outshine the sun,
An' it 's way beyon' the moon.

You got a home in the promise lan',
Goin' to outshine the sun, *O Lord*,
An' it 's way beyon' the moon.

The crown that my Jesus give me,
Goin' to outshine the sun, *my Lord*,
An' it 's way beyond the moon.

Goin' to put on my crown in glory,
An' outshine the sun, *O Lord*.
'Way beyon' de moon.

Other verses sing of putting on slippers, long white robe, in each case the singer is to "outshine the sun." The dazzling splendor of it all makes anticipation full of staying qualities; it makes the picture one of reality because of the vigor of an imaginative power. Who knows if the negroes often dream of the grandeurs of the sky?

The negro uses many figures and symbols in his religion. He can see the chariot wheel and the chariot of fire taking him to heaven as easily as Elijah. He can imagine that he, too, can ascend even as Christ and the angels. Besides these methods he has the Gospel Train and the Ship of Zion. The train has much fascination for the negro; much will be seen of this in his social songs. It is but natural that he should bring it into his religious songs. The negro often goes to meet the train at the station, even when sick. It is a great social event of a Sunday. So again, he wishes to go on an excursion; few things can hinder him. Very much in the same strain is the religious song, "When the train come along."

Well, I may be sick an' cannot rise,
But I meet you at de station when de train come along.

When de train come along,
When de train come along,
I 'll meet you at de station when de train come along.

Well, I may be blind an' cannot see,
But I meet you at de station when de train come along.

Well, I may be lame and cannot walk,
But I 'll meet you at de station when de train come along.

While no mention is made of the exact kind of train, it is generally understood to mean the Gospel train. This song also has a popular variant which is used in a secular way. In either case it expresses in a very forceful way the importance of meeting the train. In proportion as a picture resembles real life or magnifies that which has been imaged, to that degree does it bring home its truth to the negro's mind. The negro continues to sing of the train on which he is to ride into the Kingdom. Says he:

I am talkin' 'bout the same train,
Same train that carried my father,
Same train.

Same train that carried my mother,
Same train,
Same train will be back to-morrow,
Same train.

Same train will be here to-morrow,
Same train,
Well you better be ready,
It 's the same train.

The "same train" also carried his *brother*, *sister*, *preacher* and others. But the train which will come back to-morrow will not wait always. One must not only be at the station but must also have a ticket. There is plenty of room, according to the negro's conception, but there is not plenty of time. It would be a wistful negro that looked upon the train pulling out for heaven and he all alone is left behind. He sings,

Well you better git yo' ticket,
Well you better git yo' ticket,
Well you better git yo' ticket,
Bye and bye.

There 's a great day er comin',
There 's a great day er comin',
There 's a great day er comin',
Bye and bye.

For the train it 's er comin',
For the train it 's er comin',
For the train it 's er comin',
Bye and bye.

I am sure God is ready,
I am sure God is ready,
I am sure God is ready,
Bye and bye.

Instead of the chorus just given he often sings: "I sure God am ready," and "I sho' God is ready." With this in view he is willing and glad for the train to come along. If he is ready, all the better for him to be on his journey. So he continues in another song and at another time:

If God was to call me I would not care—um-u',
For he done move away my fears—um-u'.

I 'm goin' to heaven, an' I 'm goin' fo' long—um-u',
All don't see me will hear my song—um-u'.

When de gospel train come 'long—um-u',
That 's the train carry me home—um-u'.

Wake up, sinner, you will be too late—um-u',
Gospel train done pass yo' gate—um-u'.

In the old plantation songs the exhortation was given to "Git on board little children, dere 's room for many a mo'." So also they sang:

De gospel train 's a comin',
I hear it jus' at hand,
I hear de car wheels rumblin',
An' rollin' thru de land.

I hear de train a comin',
She' s comin' round de curve,
She 's loosened all her steam an' brakes,
An' strainin' eb'ry nerve.

De fare is cheap an' all can go,
De rich an' pore are dere,
No second class abord dis train,
No difference in de fare.

In addition to the above stanzas the Jubilee singers added others. They heard the bell and whistle and "she 's playin' all her steam an'

power.'' The rhyme and imagery of the old song struck a more responsive chord than the present song; this is due to the fact that the negro of to-day sings his railroad songs and enjoys them in his secular music. There he pictures the train with such vividness that the train may be easily heard and seen in his imagination. Other verses of the *Gospel Train* as it was sung by the Jubilee singers are:

There 's Moses and Noah and Abraham,
And all the prophets, too,
Our friends in Christ are all on board,
O what a heavenly crew.

We soon shall reach the station,
O how we then shall sing,
With all the heavenly army,
We'll make the welkin ring.

She 's nearing now the station,
O sinner, don't be vain,
But come an' get your ticket,
And be ready for the train.

No signal for the other train,
To follow on the line,
O sinner, you 're forever lost,
If once you 're left behind.

While the song as reported by the Jubilee singers does not possess the mere characteristics of form and dialect, it nevertheless appeals to the negroes and it is sometimes sung. One of the fears of the negro is that others may go to heaven and he be left behind. This, as has been indicated, constitutes the sum total of misery. So he has a number of songs in which he expresses this feeling and prays that he may not be left behind in the race of life for the eternal goal. One of the most touching of these songs represents the negro as an orphan who is unwilling to stay alone in the world:

My muther an' my father both are daid, both are daid,
My muther an' my father both are dead,
My mother an' my father both are dead,
Good Lord, I cannot stay here by merself.

I'm er pore little orphan chile in de worl', chile in de worl',
I'm er pore little orphan chile in the worl',
I'm a pore little orphan chile in de worl',
Good Lord, I cannot stay here by merself.

De train done whistled an' de cars done gone, cars done gone,
De train done whistled an' de cars ere gone,
De train done whistled an' de cars ere gone,
Ezekiel, I cannot stay here by merself.

My brothers an' my sisters are all gone, all gone,
My brothers an' my sister 're all gone, all gone,
My brothers an' sisters all are gone,
Mer Jesus, I cannot stay here by merself.

Git me ticket fer de train, fer de train,
Git me ticket fer de train,
I got mer ticket fer de train,
Thank God, I *ain't gwine* stay here by merself.

Very much like the song just given the negroes used to sing: "Dar's room in dar, room in dar, room in de heaven, Lord, I can't stay behin'". So, too, "I can't or don't want to stay here no longer" are common and classic verses of negro song. Again they sang the "good news" because "De chariot 's comin', I doan want her to leave a-me behind, Gwine get upon dat chariot, Carry me home". In a prayer the negro sang: "Jesus, don't leave me behind". In his songs to-day the negro says:

Dear brother, don't you leave,
Dear brother, don't you leave,
This ole world 's a hell to me.

This ole world 's a hell to me,
This ole world 's a hell to me.

Yes, I bleedzed to leave this world,
Yes, I bleedzed to leave this world,
Sister, I 's bleedzed to leave this world,
For it 's a hell to me.

While the old negroes used to sing "Oh brother, sisters, mourners, don't stay away, For my Lord says there 's room enough", the modern negro sings "You can't stay away".

Sister, you can't stay away,
Sister, you can't stay away,
Sister, you can't stay away, stay away.

My Lord is a callin' an' you can't stay away,
My Lord is a callin' an' you can't stay away,
Yes, my Lord is a callin' an' you can't stay away,
An' you can't stay away.

King Jesus is a ridin' an' you can't stay away,
O preacher, you can't stay away.

There have been a great many versions of the song "Ole Ship of Zion", none of which differ materially. The four or five versions most common in the slave and plantation song represented the Ship of Zion somewhat as follows: "She has landed many a thousand, She can land as many more, Do you think she will be able, For to take us all home? You can tell 'em I'm comin' home", "Dis de good ole ship of Zion, An' she's maken' fer de promise lan'. "She hab angels fer de sailors. An' how you know dey's angels? Dat ship is out a sailin' she's a sailin' mighty steady. She'll neither reel nor totter, She's a sailin' 'way cold Jordan. King Jesus is de captain, captain''. "De gospel ship is sailin', O Jesus is de captain, De angels are de sailors, O is yo' bundle ready? O have you got yo' ticket!" Another version has "her loaded down with angels"; Another "wid a-bright angels". Another asks what ship is that "you're enlisted upon"? and answers that it is the "Good ship of Zion", which "sails like she's heavy loaded", and "has King Jesus for the captain", and "the Holy Ghost is de pilot'' The coast negroes had many songs that originated in ideas suggested by the boats. To-day the river negroes have songs of their own, but they do not go into the church songs. The Old Ship of Zion, however, is sung, but only as a remnant of the former song, less elaborate.

This ole ship is a reelin' an' a rockin',
This ole ship is a reelin' an' a rockin' rockin' rockin'
Makin' fer de promise lan'.

While the negro sings, he sees the ship reelin' an' rockin', and repeats these phrases enough and in a rhythmic manner, so that he imitates the imagined motion of the ship. The other stanzas of the song are practically the same as those of the earlier days.

O my Lord, shall I be the one?
O my Lord, shall I be the one?
O my Lord, shall I be the one?
Makin' for the promise lan'?

Yes, 't is that good ole ship of Zion, of Zion,
Yes, 't is that good ole ship of Zion, of Zion,
Yes, 't is that good ole ship of Zion,
Makin' for the promise lan'.

O the ship is heavy loaded, loaded, loaded,
Makin' for the promise lan'.
It's loaded with many er thousand, thousand, thousand,
Makin' fer the promise lan'.

"This ole worl's a rollin'" is most likely a figure of the ship and modelled on the same song. However, it conveys a different idea, one of judgment and the end of the world. The negro sings:

Well the ole worl' is a rollin', rollin', rollin',
Yes, the ole worl' is rollin', rollin' away.

Well ain't you goin' to get ready?
Yes, ain't you goin' to get ready? for it 's rollin' away.

Well get on board little children, children, children,
Well get on board, for this ole worl's rollin' away.

He sings for the *sinner*, *mourner*, and all his *friends* and *relatives* to get on board the world as she rolls away. It reminds one somewhat of the song once current among the negroes: "O de ole ferry boat stan' a-waitin' at de landin', Chilluns we'se all gwine home". The same feeling of motion and the end of the world as is indicated in the moving of the train, ship, and the world itself is also reflected in the opening of the graveyards and the rolling of the hearse wheel. The same rhythmic effect of motion and words give a strikingly appropriate attitude to the singer.

O the lightening flashin' an' the thunder rollin', rollin', rollin',
O the lightening flashin' an' thunder rollin', rollin', rollin',
O the light'ning flashin' an' thunder rollin',
Lawd, I know my time ain't long; Lawd, I know my time ain't long.

The hearse wheel rollin' an' graveyard openin', openin', openin',
The hearse wheel rollin' an' graveyard openin', openin', openin',
The hearse wheel rollin' an' the graveyard openin',
Lawd, I know my time ain't long, my time ain't long.

And very much like the above song is "Every Day". However, it is so similar to other songs that one concludes that it is only a putting together of what the singer already knew. The Bahama negroes have a song, "If hev'ry day was judgment day", that is almost exactly the same in meaning as this one. The song, however, is a powerful one and seems to be gaining in popularity.

Well the hearse wheel rollin',
Every day, every day,
Carryin' yo' brother to the graveyard,
Every day, every day—*move, Zion, move.*

Well ain't it a pity, pity?
Every day, every day,

Well ain't it a pity, ain't it a pity?
Every day, every day, *move, Zion, move.*

Well they 're carryin' a sinner, sinner,
Every day, every day,
Yes, they 're carryin' a sinner,
Every day, every day, *move, Zion, move.*

Move, Zion, move, for you got to go to judgment,
Every day, every day,
Move, Zion, move, for you got to go to judgment,
Every day, every day, *move, Zion, move.*

The getting of mail, and especially of letters, usually means much to the negroes; perhaps simply because they receive little mail. To have a letter from a distinguished person is superlative honor and the recipient usually makes the fact known generally. Just how the negro conceived of receiving letters from God, or why he imagined the angels and apostles as writing letters does not appear clear. One gets a letter, another reads it; one writes a letter and all know its contents. Such a reference is found in a number of songs, that serve as a warning or admonition.

Well my mother got a letter, O yes,
Well she could not read it, O yes,
What you reckon that letter said?
That she did n't have long to stay here.

Won't you come, won't you come?
Won't you come an' get ready to die?
Won't you come, for my Lord is callin' you?

How do you know that my Lord is callin', O yes?
If you look at this letter, O yes,
You see it come from the Hebrews, O yes,
Won't you come, for my Lord is callin' you.

Perhaps the idea of the letter came from the *epistles* of the New Testament. John and Peter wrote letters; Mary and Martha read them. The letters of the Hebrews and Ephesians are spoken of. The idea "It just suits me" seems to have sprung up from satisfaction in reading the "word" or in hearing the sermon and praying in the usual way.

John wrote a letter and he wrote it in haste,
An' it jus' suit me:
John wrote a letter and he wrote it in haste,
An, it jus' suit me.

John wrote a letter and he wrote it in haste,
If yer want to go to heaven yer better make haste,
An' it jus' suit me.

I 'll tell you a little thing that was in that letter,
An' it jus' suit me.
I 'll tell you a little thing that was in John's letter,
The Holy Ghost came to make us better,
An' it jus' suit me.

In the same form and repetition are sung other stanzas, all of which "suit" the negroes pretty well.

If this is n't the Holy Ghost I don't know,
I never felt such a love befo',
But it jus' suit me.

O my brother, you oughter been at de pool,
To see me put on my gospel shoes,
An' it jus' suit me.

Ezekiel said he spied the train a comin',
We got on board an' she never stopped runnin',
An' it jus' suit me.

This kind er religion is better than gold,
It 's better felt than ever told,
An' it jus' suit me.

I tell you a little thing you can't do,
You can't serve God and the devil, too,
But it jus' suit me.

When trouble is done an' conflict have passed,
I rise to reign in peace at last,
An' it jus' suit me.

By this time the singers are happy enough and the preacher joins them in shouting, "Yes, brethren, it just suits me." It is gratifying to the negroes that their sins have been "washed in the blood of the Lamb", as indeed it ought to be. Perhaps they give it its undue prominence without thought; for they have no conception of the seriousness of their claims. The negro singers have exhibited a characteristic specimen of their *word combinations*, *concrete pictures*, and *theological principles* in their song, "De blood done sign my name."

O de blood, O de blood,
O de blood done sign my name;
O Jesus said so, Jesus said so,
O de blood done sign my name.

I believe it for God he tole me,
That the blood done sign my name,
I believe it for God he tole me,
That the blood done sign my name,
Yes, the blood done sign my name.

How do you know so, God he said so,
That the blood done sign my name.

Well it's written in de Kingdom,
That the blood done sign my name.

Well in de Lamb's book it is written,
That the blood done sign my name.

Well the wheels a turnin', wheels a turnin',
Blood done sign my name.

I'm boun' for glory, boun' for glory,
The blood done sign my name.

On de mountain, on de mountain,
The blood done sign my name.

In the valley, in the valley,
Blood done sign my name.

But the Christian does not have an easy time after his conversion. Satan is always at hand and ready to lead him away if there is a chance. The negro's idea of satan and the devil has been noted. In his march songs the negro imagines that he is marching against his foe; this foe is sometimes satan himself. "The other world is not lak' dis" is a typical marching song.

I er's walkin' 'long de oder day,
De udder worl' is not lak' dis,
I met ole satan on de way,
De udder worl' is not lak' dis,
He said, "Young man, you 're too young to pray",
De udder worl' is not lak' dis.

Tell all dis worl',
Tell all dis worl',
Tell all dis worl',
De odder worl' is not lak' dis.

As I went down in de valley to pray,
De udder worl' is not lak' dis,
I met a little looker on de way,
De udder worl' is not lak' dis,
He said: "Look out fer de Judgment day",
De udder worl' is not lak' dis.

Another marching song that is a rousing one is "Goin' down to Jord'n". It represents, like the one just given, the attributes of satan and his relation to the Christian. The scene as pictured, the army marching on down to Jordan, the imaginary foe, and the rhythm of the song make it a favorite.

Halleluyer to the Lam',
Goin' on down to Jordan,
Lord God 's on that givin' han',
Goin' on down to Jordan.

Goin' down to Jordan,
Goin down to Jordan,
I got my breas'plate, sword an' shield,
Goin' down to Jordan,
Boldly marchin' thru' the field,
Goin' on down to Jordan

I plucked one block out'n satan's wall,
Goin' on down to Jordan,
I heard him stumble an' saw him fall,
Goin' on down to Jordan.

Ole satan 's a liar an' a conjurer, too,
Goin' on down to Jordan,
If you don't mind he 'll conjure you,
Goin' down to Jordan.

Ole satan mad an' I am glad,
He missed a soul he thought he had.

Ole satan thought he had me fast,
Broke his chain an' I m free at last.

I 've landed my feet on Jordan's sho',
Now I 'm free forever mo',
Goin' on down to Jordan.

Something has been observed about the negro's attitude toward the crucifixion. The old songs asked: "Wus you dere when dey crucified my Lord? When dey put the crown of thorns on?" and other scenes. In some of the songs the negroes sang "*I wus* dere when", etc., while still others only affirm the facts. The songs of the present generation of negroes are less vivid and less full of feeling for the suffering of the Master. Some of the verses are similar to those of the plantation songs.

He carried his cross, he carried his cross,
Up Zion hill, up Zion hill,

He carried his cross, he carried his cross,
Up Zion hill, up Zion hill,
He carried his cross up Zion hill, Zion hill, Zion hill.

They put on him the thorny crown (3),
Then they nail my Jesus down,
They nail him down, nail him down, nail him down,
They lif' the cross high in the air (3),
To show the worl' how they nail him there,
How they nail him there, nail him there, nail him there.

A peculiar corruption of this song represents the prodigal son as being in the place of Christ; now it is the prodigal, now it is the Lord. It indicates the manner of the development of many of these songs, and shows something of the insignificance of the words on the minds of the singers. He sings with his holy laugh:

Yes, the prodigal son come home, ha, ha,
Yes, the prodigal son come home, ha, ha,
The prodigal son come home by hisself,

An' they nail him to the cross, ha, ha,
An' they nail him to the cross, ha, ha,
An' they nail him to the cross on that day.

An' the blood come runnin' down, ha, ha,
The blood come runnin' down, ha, ha,
An' the blood come runnin' down, on that day.

An' they kill the fat'nin' calf, ha, ha,
An' they kill the fat'nin' calf, ha, ha,
They kill the fat'nin' calf on that day.

An' they carried my Lord away, ha, ha,
An' they carried my Lord away, ha, ha,
They carried my Lord away, by hisself.

Paul and Silas, Peter and John are models for proper contemplation. One of the old songs represented Peter and Paul as bound in jail. "Togedda dey sung, togedda dey prayed, De Lawd he heard how dey sung an' prayed. Den humble yo'selves, de bell done rung." "Paul an' Silas bound in jail, The Christians pray both night and day," represented another song, one version of which has survived and is current to-day. Most of the song consists in repetitions.

Paul and Silas bound in jail,
Paul and Silas bound in jail,
Paul and Silas bound in jail,
Paul and Silas bound in jail.

Paul did pray one mournful prayer (4).

Don't you wish you could pray like Paul?(4)

He prayed an' the good Lord set him free (4).

Another version prays for the *angels* to come down and *unlock* the door of the jail. It has a striking parallel among the secular songs and might have been composed with the idea of the negro in jail as being rescued.

Come down angel with the key,
Come down angel with the key,
My Lord, angel, come down with the key.

Unlock the door for me-e-e,
Unlock the door for me-e-e,
My Lord, unlock the door for me.

Paul and Silas is in jail,
Paul and Silas is in jail,
My Lord, Paul and Silas is in jail.

Unlock the jail-house door,
Unlock the jail-house door-oor,
My Lord, unlock the jail house door.

Among those of the Bible who have been the special subject of song, Noah has a prominent place. References to him have been made already. He is always the hero of the flood. In most of the songs wherein a special character has an important part, it is in the chorus or refrain. So in "Fohty days an' nights", a general mixture of songs and ideas, Noah and the flood make the chorus.

Dey calls bro' Noah a foolish man,
Fohty days an' nights,
He built de ark upon de lan',
Fohty days an' nights.

En, ho, ho, did n't it rain?
O yes, you know it did.
Ho, ho, did n't it rain?
O yes, you know it did.

Ole Satan wears a iron shoe,
Hit's fohty days an' nights,
Ef you don't mind gwine slip it on you,
Fohty days an' nights.

Some go to meetin' to put on pretense,
Fohty days an' nights,
Until de day ob grace is spent,
Fohty days an' nights.

Some go to meetin' to sing an' shout,
Fohty days an' nights,
Fo' six months dey 'll be turned out,
Fohty days an' nights.

I tell you brother an' I tell you twice,
It 's fohty days an' nights,
My soul done anchored in Jesus Christ,
Fohty days an' nights.

If you git dar befo' I do,
Forty days an' nights,
Look out fer me I 'se comin' too,
Fohty days an' nights.

You baptize Peter an' you baptize Paul,
It 's fohty days an' nights,
But de Lord-God-er-mighty gwine baptize all,
It 's fohty days an' nights.

Another version in one of the old songs says: "Some go to church to laugh and talk, but dey knows nuthin' 'bout de Christian's walk". "De Ole Ark a-moverin'" was the title of a plantation song which gave the story of Noah and the flood. Noah and his sons "went to work upon dry lan' ", and everything went according to the original "plan".

Jes' wait a little while, I 'm gwine tell you 'bout de ole ark,
De Lord told Noah for to build him an ole ark,
Den Noah and his sons went to work upon dry lan',
Dey built dat ark jes' accordin' to comman',
Noah an' his sons went to work upon de timber,
De proud begin to laugh the silly to point de finger,
When de ark was finished jes' accordin' to plan,
Massa Noah took his family both animal an' man,
When de rain begin to fall and de ark begin to rise,
De wicked hung round wid der groans and der cries,
Fohty days and fohty nights de rain it kep' a fallin',
De wicked clumb de trees an' for help dey kep' callin',
Dat awful rain she stopped at las', de waters dey subsided,
An' dat ole ark wid all aboard on Ararat rided.

This is the picture which the plantation and slave negro has made for his satisfaction. The present-day song that apparently originated in the above song is less elaborate, having only portions of the old song, and not being much in demand. It, too, is called "Did n't it rain?"

God told Noah 'bout de rainbow sign—
Lawd, did n't it rain?

No more water but fier nex' time—
O did n't it rain? Halleluyer.

O did n't it rain, O did n't it rain?
Halleluyer, did n't it rain?
Some fohty days an' nights.

Well it rain fohty days an' nights widout stoppin',
Lawd, did n't it rain?
The sinner got mad 'cause the rain kept a droppin',
O did n't it rain? Halleluyer.

Among the most interesting of all the negro spirituals are those which have been composed in recent years. These are significant in their bearing upon the temperament and religion of the present-day negro. These songs are efforts at poetry, while at the same time they unite biblical story with song. How they are often begun and for what purposes they are composed was mentioned in the previous discussion concerning the origin of negro songs. Further analysis of the form may be made in the study of the negro's mental imagery. The following song, which gets its name from the chorus, is entitled "My Trouble is Hard", and was composed by "Sister Bowers". It was printed on a single sheet for distribution; each person who contributed to the collection was entitled to a copy, or a copy could be had for a nickel. She sung her new song to the crowds wherever she went, and then was given a *pro-rata* of the collections. With the chorus repeated after each stanza, as the negroes always do, it becomes a song of unusual length:

I know a man that was here before Christ,
His name was Adam and Eve was his wife,
I 'll tell you how this man lived a rugged life,
Just by taking this woman's advice.

My trouble is hard, O yes,
My trouble is hard, O yes,
My trouble is hard, O yes,
Yes indeed, my trouble is hard.

Whilst you are sitting on your seat,
Let me tell you something that is sweet,
When all God's people in glory meet,
They will slip and slide the golden street.

Stop young man, I 've something to say;
You know you 're sinful and why don't you pray?
You 're sinning against a sin-venged God,
Who has power to slay us all.

O Lord, aint it a pity—ain't it a shame—
To see how my Lord and Saviour was slain?
I hate to call the murderer's name,
I know they are dead but left the stain.

Read the Scriptures and be content,
You are bound to know what Jesus meant,
John was here before his advent;
Stood in the wilderness and cried "Repent".

Christ called his apostles two by two,
He particularly told them what to do,
Preach my gospel as I command you,
And I 'll be with you all the way through.

Just me tell you what David done,
Old man Jesse's youngest son:
He slayed Goliath that mighty one,
Ole Saul pursued him but he had to run.

Ole Saul pursued poor David's life—
It's a mighty good thing he had a wife,
They went to his house and did surround
And she took a rope and let him down.

God called Jonah in a powerful way,
He told old Jonah just what to say;
Tell them people if they don't pray,
I'll destroy the city of Nineveh.

Just let me tell you how this world is fixed,
Satan has got it so full of tricks,
You can go from place to place,
Everybody's runnin' down the colored race.

Almost equally interesting is "That's another Witness for my Lord." It will be noticed in these songs that references and phrases taken from the old songs are often used, but in different combinations. They thus lose their former worth. It will be interesting, too, to compare the negro's religious conceptions of the Bible and God as expressed in these songs with those expressed in the older productions: Has he advanced in his theology?

Read in Genesis, you understand,
Methuselah was the oldest man,
Lived nine hundred and sixty-nine,
Died and went to heaven in due time.

Methuselah is a witness for my Lord,
Methuselah is a witness for my Lord.

You read about Sampson from his birth,
Strongest man that lived on the earth,

'Way back yonder in ancient times,
He slayed three thousand of the Philistines.

Sampson he went wanderin' about,
For his strength had n't been found out,
His wife dropped down upon her knees,
Said: "Sampson, tell me where your strength lies, please."

Delila' talked so good and fair;
He told her his strength lie in his hair;
"Shave my head just as clean as your hands,
And my strength 'll be like a nachual man's."

Was n't that a witness for my Lord?
Was n't that a witness for my Lord?

Isaiah mounted on de wheel o' time,
Spoke to God-er-mighty way down the line:
Said, "O Lord, to me reveal,
How can this vile race be healed?"

God said: "Tell the sons of men,
Unto them 'll be born a king,
Them that believe upon his Way,
They shall rest in the latter day."

Isaiah was a witness for my Lord,
Isaiah was a witness for my Lord.

There was a man amongst the Pharisees,
Named Nicodemus and he did n't believe,
He went to the Master in the night,
And told him to take him out er human sight.

"You are the Christ, I 'm sure it 's true,
For none do de miracles dat you do,
But how can a man, now old in sin,
Turn back still and be born again?"

Christ said, "Man, if you want to be wise,
You 'd better repent and be baptized;
Believe on me, the Son of Man,
Then you will be born'd again."

Was n't that a witness for my Lord?
Was n't that a witness for my Lord?

"After 'While" gives a slightly different form of verse, but with somewhat the same characteristics in other respects as those just given. There is little regularity in the metrical arrangement, but it makes a good song.

The worl' is full of forms and changes,
It 's just now so confuse,

You will find some danger
In everything you use:
But this is consolation to every blood washed child,
God's goin' to change our station after while.

Afterwhile, afterwhile,
God's goin' to change our station, afterwhile.

The devil tries to throw down
Everything that 's good,

He 'd fix a way to confine
The righteous if he could,
Thanks be to God almighty, he cannot be beguiled,
Ole satan will be done fightin' afterwhile.

Some men and women who help the world along,
By constantly complaining of everything that 's done,
They want to be called Christians and all their badness hide,
God 's goin' to open the secret afterwhile.

Preachers in their sermons stand up and tell the truth,
They 'll go about and murmur with slander and abuse;
They want the whole arrangement to suit their selfish style,
God 's goin' to rain down fire afterwhile.

In a general mixture of old song and new song, of old traits and new traits, the negro sings a beautiful song which he has called: "Whar' shall I be?" The usual imagery is seen.

Moses lived til he got old,
Whar' shall I be?
Buried in de mountain, so I 'm told,
Whar' shall I be?

Whar' shall I be when de fust trumpet sounds?
Whar' shall I be when it sounds so loud?
When it sound so loud that it wake up the dead,
Whar' shall I be when it sounds?

Well God showed Noar de rainbow sign,
Whar' shall I be?
No more water but fire nex' time,
Whar' shall I be?

Mathew, Mark, Luke and John,
Whar' shall I be?
Tole me whar' my Saviour gone;
Whar' shall I be?

John declar'd he saw a man,
Whar' shall I be?
Wid seben lamps in his right han',
Whar' shall I be?

The exact meaning of the following song could not be ascertained. It is apparently derived from some idea of the scriptural invocation and blessing upon the disciples. It is said to have a special message to the preacher, and is sometimes represented as being the words of God; at other times the encouragement of a friend and the reply.

Go and I will go with you;
Open your mouth and I 'll speak for you;
If I go and tell them what you say they won't believe me.

Shout and I shout with you;
Throw out your arms and I catch you;
If they see you going with me, they won't believe on you.

So it 's go and I go with you;
Open your mouth and I speak for you,
Shout and I shout with you,
Throw out your arms and I catch you,
If I go and tell them what you say they won't believe me.

Another song of the modern type seems to appeal to the negroes very strongly. Again he is seeing a vivid picture of the Christ in the long years ago. But just where he gets the exact ideas by which to make the combinations is a little doubtful. Perhaps he gets the central thought from the miracle of Cana.

If my mother ask you for me, tell her I gone to Gallerlee,
I ought to a been there four thousand years ago,
To drink of the wine.

Drinkin' of the wine, drinkin' of the wine,
Drinkin' of the wine, Drinkin' of the wine,
Christ was there four thousand years ago,
Drinkin' of the wine.

You may mourn, sinner, mourn, the Lord help you to mourn,
Christ was there four thousand years ago,
Drinkin' of the wine.

So, too, you may *moan*, *weep*, *cry*, *pray*, *brother*, *sister*, *father*, *mother*, *backslider*, and any others that the singer happens to think of, and the chorus, "Drinkin' of the wine," is the favorite refrain. Again in "The Blind Man" the picture is one of confusing the scriptural scenes with those of the present, and of placing himself in the stead of the central character of the story.

Well the blind man stood by the grave and cried,
Well the blind man stood by the wave and cried,
Yes, the blind man stood by the wave and cried.

He cried, "O Lord, don't you hear po' me?"
Hark, the blind man stood by the wave and cried,
He cried, "O Lord, don't you hear po' me?"

Brother don't you hear the blind cries, blind cries?
Brother don't you hear the blind cries, blind cries?
O brother, don't you hear the blind cries?

Jesus he give de blind man sight, blind man sight,
Jesus he give de blind man sight, blind man sight,
Yes, Jesus he give de blind man sight.

He also sings "*sister*, don't you hear," etc., *brother*, *father*, *preacher*. A peculiar modification of "Walking in the Light" is the song of the same name among the negroes, which seems to have its origin in the scriptural injunction, "Ye are the light of the world."

Let yo' light shine all over the world,
Walkin' in the light, beautiful light.

Mos' wonderful light, shine by night,
Let yo' light shine all over the world.

I am the light, most pitiful light,
Let yo' light shine all over the world.

Follow the light, mos' beautiful light,
Let yo' light shine all over the world.

Sinner, what you gwine do when the lamp stops burnin',
Let yo' light shine all over the world?

The negro prays to be remembered at Calvary; so, too, he asks to remember Calvary and the Lord. A single fragment of the old song remains:

O Lord remember me, remember Calvary,
For without any doubt and you remember the Lord,
I pray thee, Lord, remember me,
O Lord, remember me, remember Calvary.

The "Pilgrim's song" that has been considered so beautiful is still a favorite; the words of the stanzas differ little. It may be called a standard hymn of the negroes. There is a story that Bishop Allen, the founder of the A. M. E. church, composed the song on his dying bed. He was very well educated and a man of considerable ability and feeling. While the sadly hopeful words of the song are of a higher type than the average spiritual, and while its metrical form is far above the usual, the song still combines many of the ideas and phrases of the favorite spirituals of the slaves. One of these songs,

"I hope my mother will be there, In that beautiful world on high", embodies the same sentiment and in similar words. Another, "Give 'way Jordan, I want to go across to see my Lord. I heard sweet music, I wish dat music would come here", represents the other part of the song. The Pilgrim's song as it is found is:

I am a poor way-faring stranger,
While journeying through this world of woe,
But there is no sickness, toil, nor danger,
In that bright world to which I go.

I'm going there to see my classmates,
They said they'd meet me when I come,
I'm just a going over Jordan,
I'm just going over home.

I know dark clouds 'll gather round me,
I know my road is rough and steep,
Yet there bright fields are lying just before me,
Where God's redeemed and vigils keep.

I'm going there to see my mother,
She said she'd meet me when I come,
I'm just going over Jordan,
I'm just a going over home.

I'll soon be free, free every trial,
My body will sleep in the old churchyard.
I'll quit the cross of self-denial,
And enter in my great reward.

I'm going there to see my mother,
She said she'd meet me when I come,
I'm just a going over Jordan,
I'm just going over home.

The only differences in the versions of the old song and its present form is the substitution of "But" for "yet", "and" for "their", and "free" for "from", "drop" for "quit" in the various lines. Very much in the same class of song is "Steal Away". The present version is much the same in general as the old, of which there were several, differing only in minor details. There is in some of the church song books a version of the song; however, the most common verses now sung are:

O the green trees a-bowin',
An' po' sinner stan' tremblin',
Well the trumpet soun' in my soul,
An' I ain't got long to stay here.

O steal away, steal away,
O steal away to my Jesus,
Steal away, steal away,
For I ain't got long to stay here.

My Lord is a callin',
Po' sinner he can't answer,
Well, the trumpet sound in my soul,
An' I ain't got long to stay here.

One of the most beautiful and at the same time simple and pathetic songs of the negroes is "Heal me, Jesus". Here the negro is at his typical best in prayer; without pretension, without reserve, claiming nothing, he simply pleads for his desire.

O Lord, I 'm sick an' I want to be healed,
O Lord, I 'm sick an' I want to be healed,
O Lord, I 'm sick an' I want to be healed,
O Lord, I 'm sick an' I want to be healed.

Heal me Jesus, heal me Jesus,
Along the heavenly way,
Heal me Jesus, heal me Jesus,
Along the heavenly way.

O Lord, I 'm blind an' I want to see,
O Lord, I 'm blin' an' I wan' ter see,
O Lord, I 'm blin' an' I wan' 'er see,
Heal me Jesus along the heavenly way.

O Lord, I 'm crippl'd an' I wan' 'er walk,
O Lord, I 'm crippl'd an' I wan' 'er wa-a-a-l-k,
O Lord, I 'm cri-p-p-l-e-d an' I want 'er walk,
Heal me Jesus along the heavenly way.

O Lord, I 'm deaf an' I want to hear, etc.

The negroes are great believers in dress and uniform. Color, too, appeals to them as significant and the more strikingly distinct the color, the stronger impression it makes upon their imaginations. Chief among all others is the white which the angels wear; gold and purple, too, are concerned with the heavens. Among men red and black are strongest. This idea of color dressing has become interwoven in many of their songs. The rhyme helps to give the picture its vividness. The following song, with its variants, is still sung with considerable zest.

Who is that yonder all dressed in red?
I heard the angels singing;

It look like the children Moses led,
I heard the angels singin'.

Down on my knees,
Down on my knees,
I heard the angels singing.

Well who that yonder all dressed in black?
I heard the angels singing;
It look like it 's de mourner jus' got back,
I heard the angels singing.

Yes' who 's that yonder all dressed in blue?
It look like the children just come through.

Instead of "mourners jus' got back" the negroes sing "a sister, a sinner, a hypocrite, etc., jus' got back". Once the negroes sang: "Who's that yonder all dressed in black? Must be children of the Israelites", which is the common version for the answer to "Who's all them come dressed in white?" The songs almost invariably have a different chorus for the different versions and combinations. In one of the old songs, the above verses were sung to the chorus

Oh, what you say, John?
Oh, what you say, John?
Oh, what you say, John?
De ressurection drawin' nigh.

with this last line as a refrain after each line of the song, just as above in "I heard the angels singing". In another of the old songs the chorus was:

Go, Mary, an' ring de bell,
Come, John, and call de roll,
I thank God.

The negro visualizes with a good deal of satisfaction. He imagines that he can see the things about which he sings. So they have imagined seeing the people dressed in white, black, red and blue; so he imagined that he could see "two tall angels comin' after me", or "big tall", "long tall", "band of angels" or whatever form the song has taken. So the negroes have told wonderful stories about the whale and the gourd vine; about the "cutter worm" as well as Jonah. The old song, modified and adapted with characteristic phraseology and expression still appeals to the negro. The "Big fish" and "Sherk" represents the terror of the sea to the negro. One old darkey explained this fact by saying that it was because the negroes were terri-

fied as they were brought over from Africa, and that they saw the whales and "fishes" in "de sea" and that "de race hain't nebber got ober it yet". Another ascribes the fear and imagination much to the biblical story of the whale and Jonah. Perhaps neither determines to any marked degree this feeling. However, the song "Big fish swallow Jonah", which has made such a hit in its paraphrases and in the glee clubs, and variously, is still current in this form:

Lord, the big fish, big fish, big fish, swallow ole Jonah whole,
The big fish, the big fish, the big fish swallow ole Jonah;
The big fish, big fish, big fish, swallow ole Jonah whole.

Ole Jonah cried, "Lord save my soul",
Ole Jonah, ole Jonah, ole Jonah cried "save my-save-m-y-y,
Ole Jonah cried "Lord save my soul".

In the same manner are sung other lines:

Lord, the gourd vine, gourd vine, gourd vine growed over Jonah.
Well, the cutter worm, cutter worm, cutter worm cut that vine down.

In addition to Jonah—and the last two stanzas are not common in the old songs—"Peter on the sea", "Gabriel, blow your trump", "Daniel in the lion's den", are sung. Those who have heard the latest form of this song rendered would scarcely imagine that it was a very appropriate church song.

It has been stated that the negro makes a song his own by the simple act of singing it. If he is free and unrestrained at the same time that he is thoroughly wrought up, he adds enough to his song or changes its version sufficiently to make it almost unique. In the common tunes sung by both white and black people, the negro's rhythm and graceful passing from one line to another, together with the insertions of shouts and "amens" renders them distinct. A number of the favorite "old time" religious songs are thus rendered by the negroes. They are the old "stand-by" hymns. The nature of some of them was indicated in the first chapter. The following songs will serve to illustrate the common practice of singing among the "spiritualists".

In "The old-time Religion" there are as many versions as the singer can make combinations. It is "Gi' me dat ole-time religion", or it is "'T is that ole time religion", or it is "Was that ole-time, etc.," or "Will be the old time religion". In the same way it may

be "good enough", "It 's good enough". It is, was, will be good enough for "mother, my mother, my ole mother, father, brother, sister," and all the list of biblical names, chiefest among whom are Paul and Silas, Peter and John. So again, it is "good when *dying*, *living*, *mourning*, *sinking*, *praying*, *talking*". It is good "when in *trubble*, when de *worl's on fier*, when the *lightening flashes*, when the *thunder rolls*, when the *heavens are melting*, when the *stars are falling*, when the *moon is bleeding*, when the *grave yards are opening*, and all other times that are conceived as being a part and factor in destiny. Likewise the chorus or the lines may be sung with additional "Yes", "sure", "well", "Uh", and various other expressions that are the product of the moment.

One who has heard the song "Bye and bye we 'll go and see them", rendered in an effective way must recognize its power and beauty. It is pre-eminently a song for the emotions, and suggests scenes of the past and of the future; it brings back memories that have been forgotten and forms emotions and conceptions that have not before existed. To the negro it is all this—in so far as he is able to grasp the better emotions—but it is mostly a medium through which he can sing his rhythmic feeling off. And with the additional interpretations and additions both in words and in expression, it is scarcely surpassed by any of his spirituals. The simplest form is exactly the same as that of the regular song: "Bye and bye, we 'll go and see them", From this the negroes vary to "Bye and bye I 'm a goin' to see *him*, *them*, *her*". To this chorus they nearly always add in alternate lines "*Well* it 's", "Well", "An'" and such expressions, thus:

Bye an' bye I 'm goin' to see them,
Bye an' bye I 'm goin' to see them,
Well, it 's bye an' bye I 'm goin' to see them,
On de oder shore.

These expressions inserted or omitted at pleasure, serve to give an additional rhythm to the song that seems otherwise to be lacking. The verses of the song, like many others, are practically unlimited. Each is repeated three or six times as the singers prefer, with the refrain "On the other shore" added at the end of each stanza. The negroes sing not only of a *brother*, *sister*, *father*, *mother*, *auntie*, *preacher* and *friends*, but they also sing of *Paul* and *Silas* and *Daniel* and *Moses;* they are at liberty to use any name that comes to mind. And they

manifest as much feeling and emotion about meeting *Moses* or *Noah* or *Abraham* as they do about a dear old mother. Not only will they meet these loved ones but there will be scenes "over yonder."

I 'm got a brother over yonder — on the other shore.
I 'm goin' to meet my brother over yonder.
Tryin' time will soon be over, on the other shore.
Well, it 's mournin' time will soon be over, on the other shore.
Cryin' time will soon be over.
Prayin' time will soon be over, etc.
Shoutin' time will soon be over, etc.

If necessary they then turn to the sinner and sing: "*Sinnin' time, gamblin'* time, etc., will soon be over." The old plantation song, instead of saying, "Brother Daniel over yonder," had it, "Wonder where is good ole Daniel? Bye an' bye we 'll go an' meet him, 'Way over in de promise lan'. Wonder where 's dem Hebrew children? Wonder where 's doubtin' Thomas? Wonder where is sinkin' Peter?" This form is apparently not sung to-day.

In the same way the negroes have modified the comparatively new songs that have been successful among the evangelists the country over. One would scarcely recognize even the tunes at first hearing, while the verses are usually entirely different. The chorus, as a rule, remains the same, save for the variations already mentioned. One or two songs may be taken as illustrations. "When the Roll is Called up yonder" appealed to the negroes for many reasons. Most of the churches sing it, and sing it "rousing" well. Their chorus is beautiful and the parts, though carried informally, make a splendid effect. But the negro does not sing the prescribed stanzas. After singing the chorus, with such additions as he feels disposed to make, and after two or three, perhaps one, of the written verses, he sings his own song:

When the roll is called up yonder, I 'll be there.
By the grace of God up yonder, I 'll be there.
Yes, my home is way up yonder, an' I 'll be there.
I got a mother way up yonder, I 'll be there.
I got a sister way up yonder, I 'll be there.

And without limitations he sings this new song into his old and favorite themes, often inserting stanzas and words that belong to the oldest existing negro spirituals in the same verse with the evangelist's best efforts. Another may illustrate further: "Blessed be the Name of the Lord", has a great many variations, some of which would never

be recognized without considerable study and investigation. At first the searcher is inclined to wonder at the distance the singer has got from his original, but the evolutionary steps make the process quite clear. The negroes love to sing blessing to the Lord; much of the basic principle of their theology is based upon gratitude for the final deliverance of bondage from work and suffering. It is not surprising, then, that this song should become a favorite. One of the present versions, most commonly sung is:

If you git there before I do,
Blessed be the name of the Lord,
Tell my God I 'm a comin' too,
Blessed be the name of the Lord.

I turn my eyes toward de sky,
Blessed be the name of the Lord,
I ask the Lord for wings to fly,
Blessed be the name of the Lord.

And encouraged by the happy putting in to this new song an old verse, the singer proceeds to put in as many as he wishes; then in his desire for rhythm and his habit of repetition, together with the cries of "amen" or "Lord" the chorus often becomes: "My Lord, blessed be the name of the Lord." The outcome of such a chorus may be seen in the song already cited: "Lor' bless the Name."

In the effort to make new songs or to appropriate songs themselves, the negroes are thus constantly introducing various songs into their worship. The most common method, that of having the song printed on a single sheet for distribution, has already been mentioned. And as was there suggested, these songs are often verses taken at random from song books or poems, and put into song form. In most cases such songs are varied in such a way that the song may both meet the demand for a song of its kind and at the same time appear original. Some, indeed, are purely original productions, some of which have been cited. Just between the "spirituals" and the standard hymns are these innovation songs. They show well the circumstances which they represent. The effort is often made by members of the younger generation of negroes to substitute the new songs, together with the standard hymns for the old spirituals. They represent a step forward; young educated negroes do not like to be heard singing the simple spirituals. They claim that they are songs of the past, and, as such

only, are they beautiful. The following song, given in the exact form in which it was distributed, will serve to illustrate.

BLESSED HOPE.

By Rev. W. E. Bailey.

Blessed hope that in Jesus is given,
All our sorrow to cheer and sustain,
That soon in the mansions of heaven
We shall meet with our loved ones agaiu.

Blessed hope, blessed hope,
We shall meet with our loved ones again,
Blessed hope, blessed hope,
We shall meet with our loved ones again.

Blessed hope in the word God has spoken,
All our peace by that word we obtain,
And as sure as God's word was never broken,
We shall meet with our loved ones again.

Blessed hope how it shines in our sorrows,
Like the star over Bethlehem's plain,
We will see our Lord ere the morrow,
We shall meet with our loved ones again.

Blessed hope the bright star of the morning,
That shall herald his coming to reign,
He will come and reward all the faithful,
We shall meet with our loved ones again.

(Sung by Rev. J. T. Johnson.)

Such a song is neither sung to an old melody nor a new tune; it is not a spiritual; it is scarcely native nor yet borrowed. It represents the general result that comes from a free intermingling of all. To such a song there may be any number of tunes; likewise there are a great many such songs introduced and may be sung alike to simple tunes. A tune is as easily selected and rendered as are the words; words are as easily improvised, or written with some care, as the melodies are natural. But they appeal less strongly to the negroes as a rule for the simple reason that "they don't put a feelin' in you like the old songs."

Thus the negro's religion is dependent upon feeling; song facilitates and intensifies the feelings, and song is the essential joy of much of the negro's life. Whenever and wherever occasion demands religious manifestation, the song is the prerequisite. Not only at the

church, but at lodge celebrations, funerals and memorial services, the song begins the process of "putting a feelin'" in the congregation. Again, the stress of the negro's religion is placed upon the supernatural and the life that lies beyond his present sphere. A religious attitude is scarcely conceived by the negro without the fundamental conception of the next world. Thus is life contrasted with heaven and hell; the sinner and the righteous are but temporary; so will the souls of all one day sing with Jehovah the songs that the angels love; and there will be feeling there, too. It is thus that the central themes of the negro's religious songs reveal both his religious nature and his mental attitude, together with the emotional characteristics that predominate. And it is easily seen that the negro's imagery and imagination are scarcely surpassed. His religious fervor depends upon the reality of such imagery; the folk-song reflects this imagery as nothing else does. Again, the negro's sense of sin is ever present in a feeling of guilt in the struggle between himself and the real or the imaginary; consequently he insures himself against a final sense of guilt by strong declarations of his righteousness as opposed to the sinner's state. His sense of sin thus becomes less practical; it is rather an imaginative expression of a religious feeling. As the clearest exponent of the negro's real self, the folk song reveals the heart of his psychic nature; it is indeed a witness to the fact that "'Ligion's so sweet". Does he not sing well and truthfully?

I jus' got home f'um Jordan,
I jus' got home f'um Jordan,
I jus' got home f'um Jordan,
'Ligion's so-o-o sweet.

My work is done an' I mus' go,
My work is done an' I mus' go,
My work is done an' I mus' go,
'Ligion's so-o-o sweet.

"THE MAGIC GIRDLE OF APHRODITE."

By REV. ARTHUR E. WHATHAM.

The Cestus, or Magic Girdle of Aphrodite, was the object which Homer represents as given by the goddess of love to Hera for the purpose of bringing her once more into favor with her husband, Zeus, now grown indifferent to her, if not hostile (Iliad, XIV, 214 ft.). What this object was, however, is a disputed point amongst scholars, various explanations having been given as to its origin, form, and special use. The present writer has attempted to settle these points, believing that if successful he will not only throw light on an interesting question of mythology, but on the heathen practices of the Israelites, a matter no Biblical student can afford to neglect.

Brewer tells us that the Cestus of Venus was made for her by Vulcan; that it was embroidered with passions, desires, joys and pains of love; and that it was worn between the *cingulum* and the *zone*, *i. e.*, between the breast-band and the loin girdle (Girdle—The Reader's Hand Book). For all this he refers merely to Spenser's "Faerie Queene." Spenser certainly credits Vulcan with having made the Cestus for Venus, who, he says, wore it round her middle, but he describes it merely as a golden ribbon possessing the power to convey the virtue of chaste love and worn by Florimel round the waist, by which term, as well as that of middle, he means the loins or hips (B. IV, c. v. 3-6; III, vii, 36). Prof. Ramsey also credits Vulcan with having made Aphrodite's Cestus (Hephaestus-Ency. Brit.). There is, however, no authority for ascribing its production to Vulcan. Prof. Ramsay has apparently confused Harmonia's famous ill-fated necklace with Aphrodite's Cestus. The unsigned article "Harmonia" (Ency. Brit.), states that "The necklace wrought by Hephaestus which Harmonia received as a marriage gift, may be compared with the cestus of Aphrodite, for it is impossible to draw a fast line between Harmonia, or Core and Aphrodite." As Vulcan made Harmonia's necklace, and as the Ency. Brit. tells us it is impossible to distinguish between Aphrodite and Harmonia, it is here, evidently, that Prof.

Ramsey has taken for granted that the necklace of the latter was the same as the cestus of the former. Of course this was a great mistake, since Hesiod tells us that Harmonia was the daughter of Mars and Venus, nor does any writer, as far as I know, view her otherwise. With regard to Harmonia's necklace, however, there seems to be considerable uncertainty touching the person for whom it was made, and also as to who gave it to Harmonia. Brewer tells us that it had been made by Vulcan for Venus before it came into the possession of Harmonia as a marriage gift (Harmonia-RHB). Harper's Dic. G. R. Antiqs. says Harmonia received it from her husband Cadmus, who had obtained it either from Aphrodite or Europa. Smith's Dic. G. R. Biog. Myth. says that Cadmus had obtained it from Hephaestus or Europa; while it refers to other traditions as stating that Harmonia received it either from Aphrodite or Athena. As well as the necklace, Harmonia received a costly garment, a peplos, regarding which there seems just as much uncertainty. Lempriere and Brewer tell us that this peplos was made for Harmonia by Vulcan to be revenged on her mother, the vestment bringing calamity to all who wore it. This, however, is the character assigned to the necklace, so that there is evidently some confusion here, especially as Athena is said to have worked the peplos (Mytholy-Murray).

Now the only authorities referred to by these writers for their statements are Apollodius III, 4.2; 6.2; Diodorus IV, 48; V, 49; Statius II, 266; and Pausanias IX, 10, 16, etc. The first two apparently are undecided, merely mentioning the different traditions; the last makes no reference whatever either to the peplos or necklace. It is Statius who gives us definite information. He says that Vulcan, grieved over the intrigues of his wife Venus with Mars, constructed this evilly charmed necklace as a marriage gift for Harmonia, their daughter. The meaning is clear, that by bringing trouble on her he might be avenged on her mother and her paramour. Statius further adds, that while the necklace, or monile, had been made with the assistance of the Cyclops and Thelchines, the chief sweat was Vulcan's (272, 6). A note on line 266, p. 192, Vol. II, of the Paris edition (Amer and Lemaire), tells us that this monile "is said to have been made by Vulcan for Venus, that it afterwards became the property of Harmonia, and then of all the queens who lived at Thebes. No authority is referred to for this statement, which, as we have seen, is

contrary to the text, and which, moreover, is contrary to the whole intention with which this gift was conveyed to Harmonia. Had this monile been originally owned either by Aphrodite or Europa, it would not have possessed the ill-fated powers with which it inspired the off-spring of Cadmus and Harmonia. The fact is, that it had been made by Vulcan with the special intention of bringing ill to the adulterous off-spring of Venus and Mars, so that it loses its significance entirely to connect its origin with Aphrodite, Europa, or any one else. It was thus a separate object from Aphrodite's Cestus. Indeed, Statius, in referring to the final evil put into Harmonia's necklace by Vulcan, says, or describes it as, the very worst of the things of power which attest the Cestus (283, 4). The Cestus possessed the power of many loves, from the purest to the basest passion. It was the worst of the latter that Vulcan put into the necklace of Harmonia, a power so lawless that the commentator describes it as one "the Cestus scarcely manifests." Thus all doubt is removed that the Cestus and this necklace were two separate objects. But what was Aphrodite's Cestus? Andrew Lang recently wrote me that "it does not seem possible to know what Homer meant by it. . . . No later writer than Homer knows anything of the subject." I am not sure, however, that Dr. Lang is correct, as we shall presently see.

In the present edition of Smith's Dic. G. R. Antiqs. we are told that the Cestus is to be considered the same as the strophion, or breast-band which the Greek and Roman women are known to have worn. A recent writer on Greek dress (Miss Abrahams) writes me that she does not assent to the view that "the Cestus served to support the figure and was the same as the strophion . . . such articles were used, as we know from literature and vase paintings, at any rate in the fourth cent. B. C., perhaps in the fifth, but I have found no evidence to point to their use in Homeric times, and I certainly think that the Cestus was something quite different." Now while I do not think the Cestus *was* a breast-band, yet it is only fair to point out that the prophet Jeremiah (II, 32), in the 7th cent. B. C., refers to breast-bands as worn by the young women of Israel, which shows there is no reason to assume that they were not in use in Homeric times.

But the Cestus has not only been viewed as the strophion, but also as the zone or marriage girdle, worn round the hips. The New Amer. Ency., The Student's Eng. Dic., Stormonth's, and The Universal Dic.

so explain it; while the poets Spenser (Faerie Queene), and Tasso (Jer. Lib. c. XVI, 24, 25); Fosbroke (Ency. Antiqs., Vol. I, p. 180); Winklemann (Chambers Ency.), refer to it as so worn.

In the 1842 edition of Smith's Dic. G. R. Antiqs., we are told that "The Scholiast on Statius (Theb. II, 283; V, 63) says that the Cestus was also the name of the marriage girdle which was given by the newly married wife to her husband; whence unlawful marriages were called incestae. This statement is confirmed by an inscription quoted by Pitiscus, in which "a patrona dedicates her Cestus to Venus." In the subsequent edition of 1859, however, this explanation of the Cestus was omitted, and has never appeared again in the editions of this famous dictionary. Now this omission is surely remarkable, and I can only account for it on the ground that the original writer of the article "Cestus" was regarded as having mistaken the drift of the Scholiast's remarks, or that the Scholiast himself was in error. I think it must have been the former, since the Scholiast nowhere says that "the Cestus was also the name of the marriage girdle, which was given by the newly married wife to the husband." All that he says is, in brief, that Venus uses her Cestus for honorable marriages, hence what has not been bound with the consecrated girdle of Venus is called incest (II, 283). Commenting on "Solvisse jugalem Ceston (V, 62), he explains it as referring to the "Cestus, the girdle of Venus, a description of which may be seen in Homer." In a further note in the "Excursus," he repeats that the Cestus which binds marriages is the girdle of Venus, adding what he has already said on II, 283, that when marriages have not been bound (*i. e.*, with the Cestus), it is incest. There is not a word here which indicates that he regards the Cestus of Venus as the bride's nuptial girdle unloosed by the husband on the night of marriage. Indeed, it seems to me that he is not thinking of the ordinary bride's girdle at all, but of the special girdle of Venus which she loosed from her bosom and gave to Hera with the direction to put it in her bosom. He refers to it, I believe, not as actually used at marriages, but as present poetically merely, just as the jugum, the neck-yoke, was regarded as present at, and used in, marriages metaphorically and poetically only. There was no actual neck-yoke used, nor was there any Cestus of Venus represented by an actual girdle worn by a bride at marriage and called the marriage or nuptial girdle. This latter as actually in use was a distinct object in

thought and fact from the nuptial Cestus of Venus which Statius records that this goddess is said to have put off at Paphos. That I am correct is seen further in the fact that despite the explanation given by dictionaries and encyclopedias, no Roman writer refers to the marriage girdle loosed by the husband under the term Cestus, but corona, cingulum, or zona. Nor is there any modern Classical Dictionary which refers to the marriage girdle under the term Cestus. Chambers Ency. informs us that the position of the Cestus as worn by Greek and Roman women is uncertain, referring to Winklemann as assuming that it was "worn round the loins," and to Heyne that it was worn as a support to the breast, which is the meaning of "immediately under the bosom." Both assumptions, however, are absolutely without warrant. When Homer refers to the loin girdle he calls it the zone (Il. XIV, 187; Od. V, 242); and when he alludes to the actual loosing of the girdle for nuptial purposes, he also calls it the zone (Od. XI, 242). Here he plainly infers that it was the loin girdle. So also in the Homeric hymn to Venus, when Anchises loosed the girdle of Venus in their amour, the goddess subsequently refers to it in clear language intimating that it was her loin girdle, calling it her zone, not her Cestus (165,256). Martial, alluding to a girdle similarly placed, calls it a zona (XIV, 151); while Lactantius, the Latin Stall, alluding to the loin girdle of Claudia by which a miracle was worked, calls it a cingulum (Div. Insti. B. II, c. 8).

I cannot but think that I have now abundantly shown that Aphrodite's Cestus was not the same as Harmonia's necklace; and that the comments by the Scholiast referred to in Smith's Dictionary of 1842, intimate nothing as to the position in which Venus wore *her* Cestus, while what they do intimate is that the Cestus of this goddess was regarded as used at marriages poetically only. I have further shown that this Scholiast gives no information as to the position in which this Cestus was assumed to be worn by brides, even poetically.

The question now is, can we with the support of evidence drawn from other sources, see in Homer's brief reference to the gift given by Aphrodite to Hera some clue as to the origin and significance of Aphrodite's Cestus?

Heyne, from Homer's statement that Aphrodite loosed the Cestus from her bosom, says, that it must be regarded as different from the zona, or band placed upon the thighs, and he calls it a strophion, *i. e.*,

a breast-girdle. Notwithstanding that he is here supported by Smith's and Harper's Classical Dictionaries, I shall endeavor to show that Aphrodite's Cestus was not a breast-band, but a necklace, or monile, such as that made by Vulcan for Harmonia. Aphrodite's necklace, however, was not so potent for evil, while it was specially noted for its pendant which hung suspended within the hollow of the bosom.

In the Arganauticon of Flaccus, B. VI, 465-474, Juno asks Venus for the loan of her ornaments powerful in heaven and earth. Venus gives to her certain bands, or girdles (cingula), which the poet further on calls necklaces (monilia), and which he describes Medea as fitting or placing round her neck after she had snatched them from Juno. A note here by the commentator (668), explains this band of necklaces, as a girdle, the Cestus of Venus, which did not always bind the bosom, but as a belt (baltei) descended from the shoulders to the thighs. Here this editor recognizes that Flaccus viewed the Cestus of Aphrodite as a necklace, nor does he hesitate to call it a belt. Martial, also, while intimating that Aphrodite's Cestus was a necklace, calls it a belt (balteus). He describes it as an object "warm from the bosom of Venus", something to "Bind upon thy neck", which explains his reference to the Cestus of the statue of Julia, as "stolen from the neck of little Cupid" (XIV, 106, 107; VI, 13). Now all this is out of keeping with the idea that the Cestus was either a breast-band or a loin girdle, neither having any connection with the neck, nor had the latter any connection whatever with the bosom. It is in keeping, however, with the idea evidently entertained both by Martial and Flaccus that the Cestus of Venus was a necklace which hung suspended over the bosom. Again, when Martial refers to the Cestus as used in marriage, as in the case of Stella and Ianthis, he calls upon Venus to strike them both in the breast with her mysterious Cestus, that the one may be as faithful as the other (VI, 21). This mutual and specialized application would be meaningless if it had reference to a girdle worn only by the bride. As something connected with the supposed seat of affection of both, it is appropriately significant. It is further plain to see that Martial refers to the Cestus of Venus as used in this marriage in a poetic sense only. Thus we have Martial as well as the Scholiast on Statius viewing the Cestus as used in marriage poetically only.

I said that Flaccus calls the girdles, which Venus gave to Juno,

necklaces. The Homeric hymns to Venus mention that the Hours hung necklaces on the neck and white bosom of Venus. Thus Schliemann quotes Helbig, that the Homeric *hormos*, or necklace was "not a band clasping the throat, but it was made to fall from the neck over the breast, and to display on the bust (Tiryns, p. 154). Had he said, to display *within* the bust, he would have been even more correct, as I shall presently show.

Statuettes and figurines of Aphrodite have been discovered depicting her as worshipped throughout the Asiatic East during Homeric times. These in numerous instances represent her as wearing just such a necklace as Helbig describes, with the added feature to which I alluded, so that the only point to settle is, whether it was to this necklace that Homer referred in the Iliad XIV, 214.

This passage has been taken to signify that Aphrodite loosed from her breast an embroidered band, fair wrought, wherein were all her enchantments (Lang). By other translators the "fair-wrought" of Lang has been rendered to signify "embroidered with all manner of enticements to love" (Smith's and Harper's Dictionaries), while again, as embroidered in many colors (Mumford, Bryant, Buckley). I believe, however, that the whole passage has been misunderstood, owing either to the translators not knowing of the archæological discoveries to which I have referred, or to their failure to apply these to determine the point in question. Bearing these in mind, I believe that the passage should be rendered, "she loosed from her breast the wrought band skillfully designed."

Collignon tells us that it is certainly in Cyprus that the prototype of the Greek Aphrodite must be sought; that she had been brought thither from Syria, and was the goddess of fertility and fruitfulness, whose likeness is preserved in the terra-cottas of Babylon, Chaldea, and Susa. The goddess is depicted laden with jewels, and with her two hands pressed against her breasts, indicative of her function. Her ornaments are such as Hesiod describes the Hours to have adorned her with when she first reached the shores of Cyprus (Theog. II, 187-206), and as also described in the Homeric hymns. Collignon then compares the terra-cottas found in Cyprus with those found at Susa, stating that the former are almost exact copies of the latter (Man. Myth., pp. 124-126). In both cases we see the pendant suspended within the hollow of the bosom, as we notice also on the figurines

found at Naukratis and elsewhere. Now from the character of this goddess, and from the manner in which she wears her necklace, new light is thrown upon the worship of Astarte-Aphrodite by the women of Israel. In Hosea II, 2, the prophet admonishes them to put away the adulteries from between their breasts (Harper-Hosea). By this term Hosea alludes to the well-known necklace of Astarte-Aphrodite, but especially to its pendant which hung conspicuously between the breasts for the special object of calling attention to their fleshly charms. The women of Israel were in fact practicing the unchaste rites of Astarte-Aphrodite (IV, 13, 14), thus they were wearing her ornaments of amuletic power to this end.

There is another representation of Aphrodite which strengthens this description of her worship. These depict her as holding the breast with one hand while pointing to the lower organs of generation with the other (Ashtoreth-HDB). One of this type found by Cesnola (Cyprus, p. 275, fig. X), wears the necklace with a bust pendant which I believe to have specially symbolized the amorous worship of Aphrodite. The most conspicuous representation, however, on this type is the large triangle indicative of the lower organs of generation. Indeed, the triangle was a well-known symbol of Aphrodite and her amorous worship throughout the entire Asiatic-East (Ohnefalsch-Richter-Cyprus). It is curious that to this day Cypriote maidens wear a triangle suspended in the same position as we find the breast-pendant on the figurines of Aphrodite, and they wear it as a love charm.

Schliemann discovered at Troy a leaden idol showing an exaggerated triangle. He also discovered stone phalli, and vases exhibiting in relief female breasts, with the navel or vulva (Ilios, pp. 276, 339, 452). With these evidences before us, there is no room for doubting that the Trojans were phallic worshippers, even as we know the Israelites were.

Sayce, in his preface to Schliemann's "Troja", says, in referring to the great Babylonian goddess, the Aphrodite of this region,—"She was nude, full faced, with arms laid upon the breasts, and the pelvis marked a triangle, as well as by a round knob below two others which represent breasts" (XVII). It was during the period when the phallic worship of Aphrodite was in full sway that Homer lived (B. B. 850). At that time, as I have shown, the amuletic phallic necklace of the goddess of love was a well-known symbol of her irresistible charms.

No wonder, then, that Homer, in describing an amorous incident which seemed to need her special aid, pictures Hera as coming to Aphrodite and artfully asking for the necklace-amulet in which all her love enchantments were supposed to reside. He describes the goddess of love as loosing from her breast her magic band or necklace, and giving it to Hera with the direction to put it in *her* bosom. Here we have a direct allusion to the symbolical pendant taken out of the bosom of Aphrodite and placed in the bosom of Hera. It is the pendant which Hosea admonished the women of Israel to remove from *between* their breasts. Nor should it be overlooked that Homer, in describing the rich toilet of Hera before she came to Aphrodite, makes no mention of any necklace amongst her other adornments then put on. I think it is clear that Homer intended to supply an apparent neglect with the necklace soon to be borrowed from Aphrodite. Now this necklace was, as we see depicted on the figurines referred to (copies of which I give at the close of this paper), of an elaborate pattern, the work, evidently, of a master-craftsman, the silver-smith or jeweller. Thus it is that Homer describes it as "a wrought band skillfully made". It was not a strophion, but a necklace; not a loin girdle, but a neck and bust ornament such as that with which the Hours had adorned Venus. A necklace such as Flaccus and Martial imagined it to be. But more especially it was the necklace which the women of Israel wore when they adopted the Astarte-Aphrodite worship of the Israelites.

Supplementary Note.

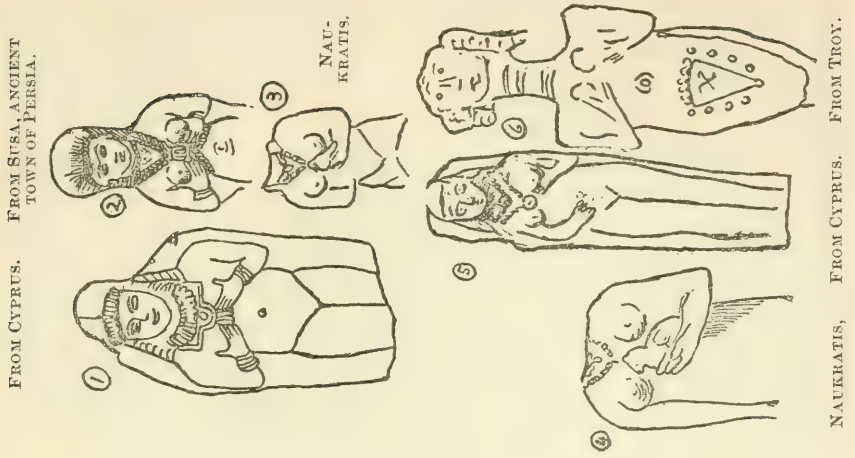
Since writing the foregoing article I have been able to gather some further important information on the subject at issue. In my article I had already drawn attention to the fact that Homer makes no allusion to a necklace when describing the ornaments with which Hera decked herself when preparing for her visit to her husband Zeus. I intimated that this was an omission purposely made that Hera might supply this deficiency with the necklace-cestus which she intended to borrow from Aphrodite. I did not, however, mention the fact that Hera had put on a zone or waist girdle. She was wearing this when she appeared before Aphrodite with the request for the loan of her cestus. It is, therefore, altogether unlikely that Homer intended to represent Hera as desiring to borrow *another* waist girdle, a fact which

tends to show that the object she solicited was of another character. That it was so appears to be definitely settled by the fact already referred to, that Aphrodite removed it from her bosom, telling Hera to put it on her bosom, an unsuitable place for a loin girdle. In view of these facts, I cannot agree with Dr. Andrew Lang, that "it does not seem possible to know what Homer meant by the cestus," nor with Prof. Seymour (Life in the Homeric Age, p. 160), that the cestus was not assigned by Homer to any definite purpose. Brief as his allusion to the cestus is, he yet intimates that it was not a waist-girdle, but a belt amulet of some character, worn with the object of inspiring amorous love for the wearer. When we recall that a triangle similarly placed adorns the neck of the votive figure of the child associated with Aphrodite in her worship at ancient Paphos; and that a triangle was the best-known sign of the licentious rites of the goddess (Ohnefalsch Richter's Cyprus), we are abundantly justified in seeing in Homer's reference to Aphrodite's cestus, an allusion to a band falling from the neck and displaying some ornament on or in the bosom. Valerius Flaccus, as I have shown, viewed Aphrodite's cestus as such an ornament, as also did Martial. Indeed, the latter's reference to the cestus of Venus as stolen from the neck of little cupid (B. vi, Epi. 13) seems to find warrant in the necklace with its triangular pendant shown on the votive figure of the child associated with Aphrodite. A note on Flaccus, vi, 668, informs us that the cestus of Venus did not always bind the bosom, but as a belt descended from the shoulders towards the thighs, and it refers to Jacob's notes in Anthology, vol. 2, pt. 3, p. 309.

I still think that Statius's references to Venus as having unloosed her yoking or nuptial cestus (B. v, 61 ff.) gives no hint as to the position in which this goddess wore it, so that we cannot tell whether he had in mind merely a necklace, such as Flaccus assumes the cestus to be, or the marriage waist girdle of the modern poets. As for the comments by this Scholiast, Lactantius, while these seem to infer the existence and use of a marriage girdle known as the marriage cestus, similar to the cestus of Venus, I still think that they do so poetically only, notwithstanding that Forcelini says that the old scholiast or statius asserts that the name cestus was given to a band given by a newly married woman to her husband. The scholiast, as we have seen, does not say this in so many words. He says merely that the cestus

or consecrated girdle of Venus was used to bind honorable marriage (note on line 60 ff., and see Excursus in Paris edition, 1835). He also says that this girdle may not be made with gold and gems, but with skin, that the bodily delights may be made manifest, that is, figured or pictured on it. At Roman marriages, however, the bride's loin girdle was always made of lamb's wool, and never of skin. Further, it was tied in front with a knot which the husband untied on the marriage bed (Cingulum, S. D. G. R. Antiqs.; Roman Antiqs.—Alex. Adam). Now all this confirms my conclusions already stated, viz.: that the scholiast merely poetically assumes that such a cestus as he describes was used at marriages. It is a fancy picture and not a reality. No such cestus as he describes, even by name, being worn by a bride at a Roman marriage. It is a reference similar to that which depicts the neck yoke as placed upon a man and woman about to be married. There was no such actual yoke used at the wedding (Gallus-Beeker, p. 164). Nor was there any such cestus as depicted by this scholiast; the actual marriage girdle being of a very different character (see note on Hom.: Il. xiv, 214, p. 72, Heyne).

In closing this note I desire to refer to an opinion advanced by a scholarly friend of mine, Judge C. B. Seymour. He writes, "Liddell and Scott are wrong in deriving 'κεστος' from κευτέω' to pierce or embroider. It is evidently a derivative from κείω an Epic desiderative signifying 'to desire to lie down.' Sometimes this word indicates a desire to sleep, but occasionally (as in Odyssey 8, line 315) it means a desire to lie with a certain person, a sexual desire." If my friend is correct, his conclusion merely strengthens my whole contention that the cestus Homer describes Hera as borrowing from Aphrodite was the band she wore round her neck and which falling over her bosom suspended a pendant resting between her breasts. Both necklace and pendant composed an amuletic ornament which inspired in the beholder a desire to lie with the wearer. In other words, Hera asked Aphrodite for the loan of her magic girdle, or girdle causing a desire on the part of gods and men to lie with her.



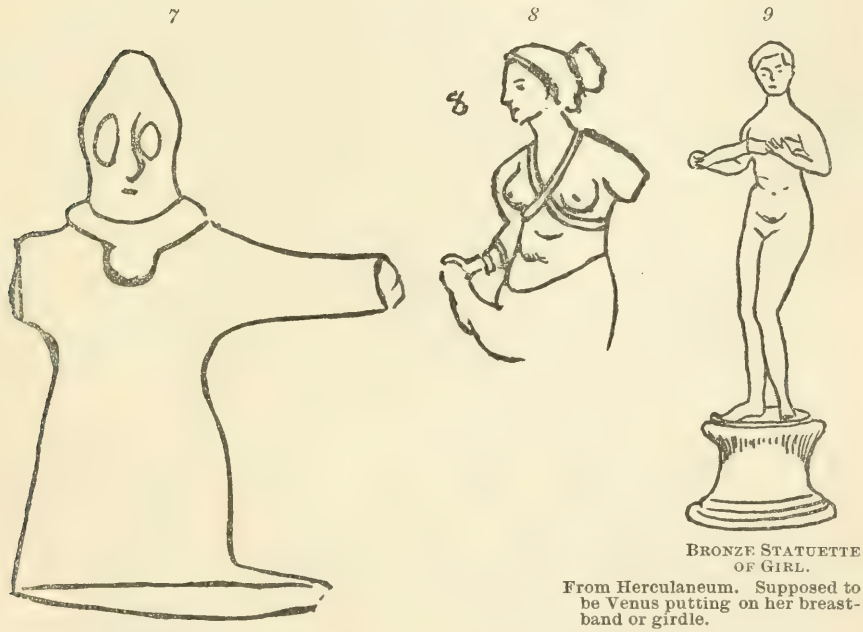


Fig. 83, p. 153.
From Schliemann's "Tiryus."

Bronze Statuette of Girl.
From Herculaneum. Supposed to be Venus putting on her breast-band or girdle.

No. 7 from Schliemann's "Tiryus" and shows idol wearing the necklace and bust pendant.

No. 8 evidently meant to represent a neck and bust ornament similar to the more elaborate one as shown on the Aphrodite idol from Susa. Neither are to be viewed as strophions or breast-girdles or bands, as they are not of the character to keep a large breast in its place. They are merely neck and bust ornaments.

NOTES

SOME OLD FACTS REINTERPRETED

Practically all the great religious polemic battles have been over questions which when sifted out turn on the manner of interpretation. Thus the doctrine of the Trinity, the Atonement, the authority of the Church, as also many of the recent results of criticism simply show successive different interpretations of certain given facts. Amid these various interpretations are always noticeable two extreme tendencies — literalism and scepticism, while between these extremes lie theories which, according as they agree or disagree with our own notions, are either orthodox or heterodox.

The tendency of the average uncritical estimate of the Bible is toward literalism. It is usually based upon a traditional interpretation which is received as the true and only scriptural idea in the particular case. It represents the dogmatism of early engrafted precepts. On the other hand scepticism represents the discarding of both facts and theories because of the apparent inability to bring about any essential agreement between the Bible and the results of research in scientific and literary fields. It represents a dogmatism also, the dogmatism that demands the instantaneous settlement of all disputed questions and is unwilling to hold faith in a general concept, all the particulars of which have not been worked out. The tendency of both extremes is therefore, toward an "either" - "or"; while that of the true theologian is toward a "both" - "and". Every honest effort toward the reconciliation of the Bible with the findings of modern science by a reinterpretation of the former must be properly termed constructive. Because such reinterpretation involves casting aside old theories which are incapable of readjustment to new conditions, we do not need to term the new destructive. The church has not yet learned to apply the parable of the new wine in old bottles.

History is but the story of universal progress, and religious thought is no exception to the development of the race. Thus, there are a number of points of harmony accepted and counted as settled by the strictest literalists of to-day, which were pronounced heretical by the church of the middle ages on the ground of their contradiction of the Word of God. Take for example the oft cited ancient ideas of the world as square, of the sun as rising and setting, of the earth as having four corners; these were thought in the middle ages to be the only positions that could possibly be sanctioned by the Bible. It has become trite to instance in this connection Galileo's teaching of the geocentric system for which he was made to recant by the church, because his teachings were regarded as subversive of Biblical truth. Copernicus took a still more decisive step by placing the earth among the planets and the sun in the centre of the system. His theory was further confirmed by Kepler who was persecuted. The stubborn conservatists of the church maintained that the acceptance of the Copernican system would destroy the very foundations of Christianity. If the sun is the centre of the planetary orbits, if the earth moves, then, they held, Joshua did not perform his miracle, the Bible is in error, and the Church fallible. Heaven no longer existed as the antithesis of

earth, for the earth as a planet was whirling through the heavens, and hence they reasoned that the establishment of the Copernican theory would set aside the very abiding place of God. But to-day the heliocentric system is universally accepted. What of its conflict with the Bible? That conflict has been decided, not by councils, but by common sense and mutual consent, to be a conflict that arose out of misinterpretation coupled with insufficient scientific knowledge, and we grant a kind of accommodation of the Biblical writers to the scientific knowlede of their times. It must be conceded by all reflecting persons, that, had the Bible been written on a strictly scientific basis, even on the basis of science as we imperfectly know it to-day, it would have appeared to those to whom it was immediately written as unworthy of preservation. Its value to us must accordingly lie in the manner in which we interpret it. If the church of the past has been forced to submit to such a reinterpretation as the one already set forth the change is but an earnest of other interpretations which will enhance the value of the Bible to us in so far as they readjust and harmonize those facts with science and preserve for us the ethical ideals and spiritual truths which are clearly its *raison d'être*

Among the Biblical *doctrines* that have come down to us as apparent statement of facts rather than interpretation of facts, probably none other is more thoroughly engrafted into the minds of Christians from childhood upward than that commonly known as the "fall". This aims to account for the introduction of sin into the world where hitherto nothing but righteousness reigned. The Bible and evolution at this point are conceived to be direct opposites. But what we know as the "fall" is an *interpretation* of the facts as given in the Bible, and the interpretation in this case was formulated by St. Augustine. It is the natural interpretation of a life spent in sin and finally aroused to a consciousness of a dawning of a new light and new meaning. Augustine could never forget that he was born a sinner and believed that the dawning consciousness of the higher life was a special spiritual operation. Hence he believed that all men are totally hereditarily depraved, and saw in the Eden story only a dark record of human degradation. The doctrine of the "fall" with its consequent total depravity of the race is but a one-sided view of the facts and might be used as a foundation for pessimistic religion, but certainly, has little or no place in the religion of Jesus, who, in the parable of the sower, saw above all else the "good ground".

But what are the facts as stated in the Bible concerning the introduction of sin. First of all we have the human race pictured as "knowing neither good nor evil". This primitive state of the human family has been distorted until it is made to mean a very high standard of excellency such as the race has never since been able to attain to. In strict truth it refers to a being without self-consciousness and with no knowledge of moral distinctions. Innocence is the strongest term that can be used of this primitive estate and then we must use it in a negative sense, righteousness can only be applied to him who, knowing evil, shuns it.

Secondly we have a picture of the human family after they have become conscious of good and evil. "And God said now the man is become as one of us to know good and evil." Is this a lower estate than the former one? God tells man of the evils of his lot because he has elected to become the arbiter of his own destiny. Emphasis is laid on the evil fruit of this election because it is God's work to save man from the evil, But we must remember that the tree was a tree of the knowledge of GOOD as well as of evil, and if from this moral election of man came evil, from it also came good and who is there that with his eyes fixed upon the

moral progress of the human race, would not make the same choice if the opportunity were his.

But what of the story by means of which this moral election is said to have been brought about. Interpretation has allegorized it by making the serpent in the case to represent the Evil One, yet literalism insists upon this traditional interpretation as absolutely historical fact. The obvious intention of this story is to account for the moral distinctions between good and evil, aside from this account the story of the serpent's conversation is of as little value as is the conversation of the trees in Jotham's Fable (Judges 9:7-21) apart from the idea that the men of Shechem had chosen a veritable bramble as their ruler. In the latter case the canon of interpretation requires us to construe the story as a fable, why not in the former?

The facts of the Biblical narrative as set forth above, stripped of their traditional vesture present a picturesque view that readily harmonizes with the evolution of the race, in fact it sets forth the all important step in that evolution. But there are two other modern doctrines to which the Biblical narrative seems especially adapted. The first of these is the biological theory of Recapitulation. It is held that each individual structurally repeats in the main points, the development of the race; thus the geological record accords with the embryological development of the higher forms, ontogeny recapitulates phylogeny. What is true of structure is true, with more or less modification of function, and while the embryonic child recapitulates the history of its structural development, the child as an individual recapitulates the racial history of its human ancestors. In the light of this theory it is of interest to interpret the story of the Edenic pair by comparison with the life of a child, the infancy of the race by the infants of the race. Every infant, like Adam and Eve, at first knows neither good nor evil. It has a potential power of discrimination which must be educated and as it grows physically and mentally its moral discernment also develops. At first the infant must be protected by parents who choose for it, even as God is said to have chosen for the primeval pair. It is customary also for parents to look forward with a certain shrinking toward the time when the child will have to discern for itself between good and evil for it is always the fatality of evil choice that impresses itself upon the mind rather than the blessings of wise judgments. In like manner God the great parent of the race looked upon his children and warned them of the evils that would attend them in the freedom of their volition. When at last the child relies upon its own judgment and chooses for itself there is no parent but that rejoices in the added dignity and manhood of this self-directed life. Grant that the election of our primitive parents has brought upon us much that is evil, it has brought infinitely more that is good. The knowledge of good and evil has transformed the race from the non-moral state of brute creation into a being "a little lower than God, and crowned him with glory and honor". This transformation is to be seen in the developing life of every child of the race.

The second modern idea that is to be seen in this narrative is the philosophical doctrine of the relativity of knowledge which in a more refined sense is to be found in the Hegelian doctrine of knowledge as "thesis, antithesis, and synthesis". The knowledge of good and evil must be born together as "thesis and antithesis" and their birth as knowledge is their "synthesis" in our knowing consciousness. We know evil only in so far as we know good, and the same is true of the birth of all knowledge, light and darkness, straight and crooked, etc. This relativity is also

the basis of self-consciousness, the first elemental ray of knowledge in the mind of the infant as also in the infancy of the race, comes to pass when the infant recognizes an object as "that". It is a differentiation of "that" from self and the knowledge of that differentiation is a self-conscious synthesis. At a very early stage of this self-conscious existence the child begins to form slightly more complex judgments in which pain is looked upon as an evil, to be avoided; and pleasure as a good to be cherished. As rational power increases we modify these ideas of good and evil. It is therefore self evident on the basis of such an analysis of self-consciousness, that the knowledge of good and evil is perhaps the earliest practical working of self-consciousness and without this power of moral distinction the race as also the individual could not in any essential sense be said to possess self-consciousness.

This narrative, therefore, sets forth the genesis of the spiritual man; it is the actualizing of what was potential in him, and reinterpreted in the light of modern research, the facts presented are more perfectly adapted to the evolution of man than to his Devilution.

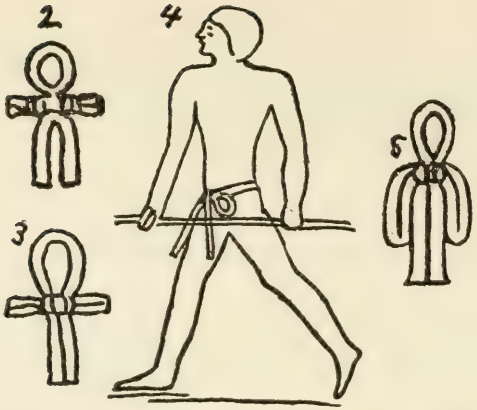
FREDERICK ARTHUR HODGE.

THE ORIGIN AND SIGNIFICANCE OF THE EGYPTIAN ANKH.

In the August issue of the "Biblical World", for 1905, I attempted to show that the origin and significance of the Ring and Rod which appear in the hand of the Babylonian Sun God, Shamash, is to be found in the idea of world sovereignty as symbolized to-day in the orb and scepter as held in the hands of modern royalty. In this article I propose to explain an even more interesting symbol held by the hand in most representations of the gods and goddesses of Egypt. I refer to the Egyptian Ankh or looped handle cross.

Renouf, in a note in his published lectures on the Religion of the Egyptians delivered as one of the Hibbert Lecture Courses (1879), has an indignant protest against identifying the Ankh, the Egyptian symbol of life, with phallic emblems, although he fails to explain the significance of the form of this symbol. Wilkinson in his "Manners and Customs of the Ancient Egyptians", acknowledges that he could not determine its origin; while Baring-Gould in his "Curious Myths of the Middle Ages", says that "No one knows, and probably never will know what originated the use of this sign, and gave it such significance", *i. e.*, as a symbol of life. I believe it has been my good fortune to discover the origin of this emblem both as to its form and significance.

In its later shape, the Ankh is a conventionalized form of the early Egyptian loin girdle so frequently represented as worn by men otherwise nude. Very early this symbol is found in the form of a knotted girdle with bow and divided hanging ends, exactly similar in design to the girdles depicted on male figures. The Egyptologists, Sayce and Petrie, see in the Ankh a fisherman's girdle, and Griffith thinks



that it probably represented a knot or a tie of some kind. None of these Egyptian scholars tells us why this emblem of a loin girdle came to indicate life. As an article of dress the girdle was originally used by the Egyptians, as in fact by all primitive people, for a covering merely for the organs of generation. It was here that the Deity was supposed to more immediately exhibit his power as the Creator of Life. We know absolutely from the translation of the Rosetta stone that the Ankh as a hieroglyph indicated life, not as indicating the organs of life themselves, but rather their special covering which soon came to be used as an emblem to signify the life or generating power of the organs covered. Formerly Antiquarians thought that the Ankh was a united emblem of the phallus and kteis. Early forms of this symbol, however, show us definitely that the shape of the later Ankh is a mere conventionalized outline of a more detailed pattern whose design is as I have said exactly similar to a loin girdle. The majority even of later Ankhs bear traces of their original design in that the ends of their cross pieces are wider than where they meet to form a cross. Again, Ankhs are found at the foot of coffins together with sandals, which strengthens the idea that they represent an article of dress. We must not neglect to add that it was the custom of many early peoples to bury the girdle with other articles of attire in the grave of the deceased. As for the conception of the transmission of the power of the organs covered to their coverings, we see this in the power ascribed to the girdle of Venus. Further, the design of the buckle of the girdle of Isis, shows clearly that its form was taken from the girdle itself, and this buckle is exactly similar in shape to many of the early Ankhs. All these points show clearly that the shape of the Ankh was derived from the loin girdle.

That the Ankh signifies life in its generative force as well as its immortal and eternal attributes, is seen in its frequent association with the Sun as the great generative power. The Sun generates, consequently it is not surprising that its rays are frequently pictured as terminating in Ankhs. Thus again we see the Ankh signifying generative life, which further tends to prove that it derived its shape from the loin girdle an article of dress specially covering the generative organs.

In May, 1906, I wrote to the Rev. S. Baring-Gould touching his statement that no one probably would ever know what originated the use of this sign and gave it its significance. I sent him the explanation which I have here given, accompanied

by several drawings showing the early loin girdle in position as the only article of dress ; two Ankhs, one made of knotted rope, and both showing marks as of divisions between the arms and upright body of the cross, and a copy of an early Ankh sent to me by Prof. Petrie in Nov., 1905, showing the two hanging ends, which would otherwise have formed the upright solid body, wide apart. I contended that from a comparison of these drawings we could see that the conventionalized subsequent Ankh had originally derived its shape from the early Egyptian loin girdle, and that as originally a loin girdle we could easily understand how from the first it had been used to signify generative or life force and, consequently, life. In reply Mr. Gould wrote, "I was much interested in your letter, and I believe you are right relative to the Ankh".

Any reader desiring to see the original of these drawings which I sent to Mr. Gould can do so by examining Petrie's "History of Egypt"; his "Medium"; Griffith's "Hieroglyphics"; and Perrot and Chipiez's "Art in Egypt". I cannot but think that I have correctly interpreted the origin and significance of the Ankh, and that such interpretation will be of interest and value to all students of religious symbolism. In his exceedingly interesting and clever work, "The Threshold Covenant", Dr. H. Clay Trumbull wrote, "Among the early Babylonians and Egyptians, as among other primitive peoples, the twofold symbols of sex are counted the sacred emblem of life, and as such are borne by the gods of life, and by those who have the power of life and death from those gods. The circle and rod, or ring and bolt conjoined, are in the right hand of the Babylonian sun god Shamash, as in the Ankh, or crux ansata, they are in the right hand of every principal deity of ancient Egypt" (p. 200).

Westropp, in his "Primitive Symbolism", tells us that "numerous writers have maintained that the Ankh or T (tau), as the sign of life was the phallus" (p. 12).

Inman in his "Ancient Pagan and Modern Christian Symbolism", claims that the Egyptian symbol of life "represents the male triad and the female unit, under a decent form" (p. 44).

Prof. Hommel, in a letter to Dr. Trumbull, published in "The Threshold Covenant" endorses the latter's view of the Egyptian Ankh.

If I am correct in my explanation of the origin of the Ankh, all these writers are shown to be in error in their explanation of this symbol, and Renouf's protest against the identification of the Ankh with phallic emblems is partially confirmed. I say *partially* for although not an emblem of phallic *members*, nor carrying always a phallic significance, as for instance when it is used to signify immortality, it nevertheless as I have shown, originated in a phallic conception, and is frequently used to convey a phallic meaning, as for instance when represented as bestowed upon royal pairs, kings and queens, not merely indicating long life, but also *fruitfulness*.

In my former article on the Ring and Rod, I did not refer to Dr. Trumbull's mistaken identification of this symbol with the kteis and phallus. From the evidence there submitted, however, it will be seen that he is as much mistaken in that identification as in the identification we are here considering. It seems to me that he should have seen his mistake in both instances in the fact that both symbols, the Ring and Rod, and the Ankh, are carried by goddesses as well as gods, and it is scarcely likely that female deities would have been represented as conferring phallic powers, and so as carrying male phallic emblems. The power to bring forth was certainly ascribed by both Egyptians and Babylonians to goddesses,

but the power to *generate* was by both ascribed to male deities. The Ankh in the hand of a goddess has never a phallic signification, that is, of generation, it implies merely immortality, eternity. It seems to me that this fact of itself should have been sufficient to show that the Ankh was not a symbol of phallic *members* but of phallicism under given circumstances, and then associated with male deity. As signifying life merely, it was carried by both gods and goddesses.

(Rev.) Arthur E. Whatham, Louisville, Ky.

LITERATURE

BIBLICAL WALL PICTURES.

Reukauf's "Biblical Wall Pictures" (Neue biblische Wandbilder) is a series of German illustrative material for use in religious instruction, which has just come from the press. There are included three series, each of six, eighteen pictures in all. They illustrate the life and teaching of Jesus, and are noteworthy, as German reviewers have pointed out, not less for their artistic merit than for their scientific accuracy and close adherence to fact in the portrayal given. Samples of two of the three series have been received in America: "Jesus' Works in Galilee", and "The Parables." A third series of six on "Jesus in the Struggle at Jerusalem", will appear soon. The charts are about 36 x 27 inches, giving representations large enough for use at a considerable distance, estimated by one reviewer at thirty feet or more. Two Germans, who are University students in America, criticised the charts with the writer, and declared that they far excelled anything that they had seen during their own school experiences, as they are certainly an advance on anything in use in American Sunday Schools. Samples of the charts may be seen at the two permanent exhibits of materials for religious education in the United States: that of the Sunday School Commission of the Diocese of New York of the Protestant Episcopal Church, 29 Lafayette Place, New York City, and the exhibit of the Religious Education Association, 153 LaSalle Street, Chicago. The author of the charts is Dr. A. Reukauf, Director of the City Schools at Coburg, Thuringia, and a former student of Dr. Rein and Dr. Holtzmann. Their artistic merit reflects credit on Kunstmahler Schmauk, and the Publisher, Karl Havlik, Stuttgart. These pictures should find an immediate introduction into America, as they bear no German letter-press. (Orders can be sent to the New York Commission, address as above.)

Better yet, let some American publisher take a cue from what the Germans are doing, and produce American illustrative material, not for religious education alone, but for geography, history and literature, which would approximate these German products in quality and, if possible, in cheapness. B. R. ANDREWS.

Arnold van Gennep: Religions, Moeurs et Légendes, Essais d'ethnographie et de linguistique. (Paris, Soc. de Mercure de France, 1908.) 316 pages.

This is a volume of essays on the most varied subjects, especially religious customs from the point of view of a folklorist; there are a few on ethnology and on linguistics in connection with folk-lore.

To-day scientific books have usually too much erudition and too few ideas; here is a book which has too many ideas and too little erudition. At first sight it looks quite different. The author seems to know everything; there are many footnotes with references to the very latest contributions to all subjects treated. However, when one looks into the matter more carefully, one observes that while Mr. Van Gennep is well up in the literature of, let us say the ten or fifteen past years and gives very useful hints at times, he knows the literature of earlier years only

by second-hand erudition, or at any rate very superficially (—a rather common occurrence, by the way, in our epoch). Even in modern literature it happens that important contributions have escaped his attention; *e. g.*, I find nowhere in all the chapters on saints and on the Virgin Mary any reference to Maury's *Croyances et légendes de Moyn-âge* (Nouv. éd., 1906); and when discussing the "sexes in words", he seems to ignore the valuable paper of R. de la Grasserie, in *Revue philosophique*, Sept., 1904 (De l'expression de l'idée de sexualité dans le langage). Those were within easy reach for some one living in France; we could quote others; neither Hirsch, nor the more recent Holzgraefe, are mentioned in connection with the last mentioned topic.

Some will find that a man who is by no means so well armed as perhaps he thinks he is, ought to be less severe for others; that he indulges too much into asserting, contradicting, deciding and criticising; that while being so hard on colleagues, he is very easily satisfied for himself at times (*e. g.*, in the very first essay his idea that chains were put around churches in order to imprison a saint in some earthly abode); that he will occasionally devote an unnecessary amount of pages to explain very simple things (*e. g.*, his essay on the "mécanisme du tabou"); that he proves carefully what people had suspected long ago (*e. g.*, p. 207-8, when he gravely states that civilization is the result of the interaction of individual and collective factors in the community); again, that his explanations are here and there far-fetched (*e. g.*, he feels very sure that the negro when violating a white woman, makes this "geste violent" in order to "affirmer sa valeur raciale" as equal to that of the victim—I never thought a negro could be so intellectual, especially in so exciting moments. . . . All this is true. Still, altogether, the book is really interesting; even if the information cannot claim to be complete, probably most of us will find in many a chapter some piece of valuable information; and, if all the ideas of the author are not equally good, some are suggestive and deserve attention.

Mr. Van Gennep is interested in everything; but he has the defect of this quality. In the volume under consideration he reveals himself as the butterfly which flies from flower to flower and is contented by admiring and enjoying things. If the author would consent to settle down and take up one problem and work it out thoroughly, he could, no doubt, accomplish some suggestive and solid work; let him not forget the French say: "Qui trop embrasse, mal 'etreint".

Bryn Mawr College. ALBERT SCHINZ.

Modern Thought and the Crisis in Belief, by R. M. WENLEY. The Macmillan Co., New York, 1909. 364 p. (The Baldwin Lectures, 1909.)

On every hand there are evidences of a decay of faith. People take religious problems less and less seriously. There is, however, a broad distinction between the beliefs of the vulgar and the learned. It is the latter generally who hug the idea that religion has become a negligible quantity. Others resent the stress placed upon natural piety. This author views religion as of primary importance for mankind. Belief, he says, bears its recompense because our fragmental nature makes insistent demands for completion. This work contains eight lectures: Sheaves on the Threshing-floor—the new attitude of culture to religion, the nature of intellectual constructions, the instability of intellectual constructions; The Waters of Meribah—supposition and science, the scientific consciousness in its methods and conclusions; Breaches of the House—the historico-critical movement, 1. ancient

history, 2. the Old Testament; Humiliation in the Midst — the historico-critical movement (continued), 3. the New Testament, 4. christian syncretism; The Pre-established Discord — the roots of conflict in experience, the abstractions of science and their meaning, consequent discords, the discord as it appears within historical science, man forced to seek refuge in the ethical consciousness; The Adjournment of Well-being — religion and the ethical consciousness, teleology and discontinuity, the time series and the ethical consciousness, failure of the ethical consciousness to satisfy man, the passage to religion; The Penumbra of Belief — knowledge and life, the mystic element in religion, the nature of christian conviction, what think ye of Christ?; The Valley of Blessing — religion under the conditions of experience, christianity as a missionary religion, christianity and secular polity, christianity as a process; absoluteness and change, conclusion.

The Oxford Hymn Book. The Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1908. 922 p.

There are two ideals of hymn book composition: one is to endeavor to provide, as far as possible, for each several occasion that arises, either out of the course of the Christian year or out of the common vicissitudes of human life; the other is to make a more restricted selection of those hymns which appear to satisfy a certain standard and to be content with a more approximate application of them to particular occasions. It is in the main the latter principle that is here followed. The authors have looked chiefly for simplicity, directness and genuineness. The volume contains three books: the first, hymns for times and seasons such as morning, evening, New Year, Lent, etc.; the second, hymns for saints' days, sacraments, and special occasions; then follows a large general collection, unclassified hymns and a choice twenty pages or so of Latin hymns. There are in all three hundred and fifty hymns. The music is always given on the left- and the words upon the right-hand page.

National Idealism and the Book of Common Prayer, by Stanton Coit. Williams and Norgate, London, 1908. 467 p.

This is an essay in reinterpretation and revision. The teaching of this volume is that the test in man as living for God, for Christ, and for the Holy Spirit is his readiness to die rather than wring money from the poor or from any other form of social injustice. This being assumed, there is no escaping the conclusion that "righteousness itself is the only true and living God." The supreme revelation of our day consists in that insight by which the hitherto flitting glimpse of the identity of righteousness with God is becoming the steady vision of universal liberty. This granted, there follows a perception of the identity of the sphere of righteousness with human society on earth. However inward, spiritual, mystic it be, the end of religion is the perfection of families, cities, states, and the federation of nations. This divides into schools, one of which holds that the whole concern of religion is the establishment of social justice here on earth. Another identifies religion with the use of supernatural means of salvation beyond death. While a third camp, while touched by the new view, still clings to the old. Surely, justice is a jealous god and will not tolerate one heart-beat of yearning toward the realization of any other good. "Thou shalt not work for London in order to save yourself from a Hell after death." "Appalling to me is the strange blindness of the two camps who are fighting wholly or in part for another world," for they are beginning to affirm that the exclusive identification of religion with the cause of communal life is anti-Christian. The most striking thing in the recent pan-Anglican congress was

the bold, intense, and general sympathy for the new and jealous identification of Christian faith with devotion to the communal cause. Thus, identifying religious faith with the cause of social righteousness, we must make a purely humanistic interpretation of the essential terms of religion. If righteousness is God, devotion to it is religion. This only can rescue Christian faith from death and enable it to put on a new, second life more fruitful than the first, and enable it to fight Moloch and Cupid. The Lord's prayer bears no evidence of union with the Father, except in its desire to see His will fulfilled, and in the craving for bread sufficient to carry on the work, and in the avoidance of temptation.

The Psychological Phenomena of Christianity, by GEORGE BARTON CUTTEN. Chas. Scribner's Sons, New York, 1908. 497 p.

The author seeks to approach religion from the standpoint of psychology which is a matter of comparatively recent endeavor, confined to the last few decades, America having taken the leading part. Beginning with generalities, the treatises on this subject have grown more and more special and minute, until now a condensation and summation of these detailed studies seems desirable, which the author seeks to give. He deals especially with Christianity not because other religions are not instructive, but because of the limitations which he sets himself. He first treats anthropomorphism; and then discusses in chapter second the religious faculty; and successive chapters are headed mysticism, ecstasy, glossalia, visions, dreams, systematism, witchcraft, demoniacal possession, asceticism, religious phenomena, revivals, faith cure, Christian Science, the miracles, conversion, age, sex, intellect, knowledge, imagination, inspiration, will, emotion, worship, prayer, sexuality, immortality and preaching. This is a splendid array of subjects. While they are naturally treated with very different degrees of merit, the book on the whole is certainly the very best known to the writer in English or any other language, as introductory to this main topic. The author has read very widely and thought deeply and with a good deal of freedom. Rather curiously he dedicates his book to the seven different Baptist Churches of which he has been pastor, the first date being June, 1894.

Psychology of Prophecy, by JACOB H. KAPLAN. Julius H. Greenstone, Philadelphia, 1908. 148 p.

This book was originally a doctor's thesis in Denver, and a part of it has been published in the *American Journal of Religious Psychology and Education*. It is certainly a very important contribution to a vital subject. No psychology of prophecy has before been written. The author claims that prophecy is entirely a subjective process, one taking place in evolution and so closely related to and connected with Jewish history that without a knowledge of the latter one can attain no intelligent view of the mind processes of the prophet. The writer begins by stating his point of view, and then asking what is a prophet? The first chapter treats of the origin of the word, nabi. The writer then passes to popular conceptions of the prophets as wonder-workers, projectors, preachers, teachers, and statesmen. Under miracles, or supernatural physics, the author holds that nothing is gained from theological and philosophical discussions of God's powers to break His laws; that empirical or scientific knowledge is of value. He explains the claim that miracles have a scientific basis, and shows the falsity of realistic perspective often involved. The residua of prophetic miracles he explains psychologically. The fourth chapter describes the prophet in relation to other professions, viz., that

of priest, deviner, poet, genius, great men. In the second part, he discusses prophetic genius on the basis of the history of prophecy, and evolves the psychological characteristics of the process; starting with the call, the premonition, he examines various views on these subjects and on the preparation for the call or prophetic temperament, etc. In the chapter on premonitions, prescience, and prediction, the author deals with evidence from the Old Testament and other sources and from modern life, and then treats the psychology of premonition. In the next chapter he deals with the belief of revelation as the word of God, as found among various peoples, and deals with its psychology. In the next chapter, dreams, visions, auditions and ecstasy, their relations to psychology, are discussed. The final theme is inspiration. The author has not only read and thought, but has also felt very deeply on these themes which he treats, and certainly his contribution to the subject is fresh and original; and while many of his conclusions are so diverse as to be almost startling, from those usually held, we think they can hardly fail to carry conviction to most candid minds.

Testimonium Animae or Greek and Roman before Jesus Christ, by E. G. Sihler. G. E. Stechert & Co., New York, 1908. 453 p.

This is a collection of essays of somewhat varying interest and value on such topics as culture and the soul, humanism, gods and men in Homer and Hesiod, the seven wise men, Æsop, lyric poets, Greek heroes and hero worship, the craving for immortality, the mysteries of Eleusis, anger and envy of the gods, Sophocles, the Sophists, Euripides, Hellenic decline, Epicurus and Zeno, worship in Greek communities, Roman spirit and color, ritual and worship in Rome, Cicero, Seneca, etc. The author has read widely, thought much, and here brings together the results of his study, which cannot fail to be of interest to students of philosophy and of the psychology of religion, as well as scholars in other fields.

Transactions of the Third International Congress for the History of Religions. Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1908. 2 v.

It would, of course, be invidious to compare the proceedings of such a society as this with those of our own association of religious educators. The many papers in this programme are grouped under the following sections, viz.: I. Religions of the lower culture; II. Religions of China and Japan; III. Egyptian religions; IV. Religions of the Semites; V. Religions of India and Iran; VI. Those of the Greeks and Romans; VII. Those of the Germans, Celts and Slavs; VIII. Christian religions; IX. Method and scope of the history of religions.

Psichologie de religie, van den Heer Bavinck. Amsterdam, 1907. In the Proceedings of the Academy of Sciences, pp. 147-178.

In this article Dr. Bavinck gives a brief sketch of the psychology of religious phenomena which was due to the change of attention from objective truth to the subjective experiences of religion, which he believes originated in Kant and Schleiermacher. Its ideal is to discover the significance and value of religion for the life of the individual in society. He writes, "It was equally natural that it should be in America that the first essays in this direction should be made, since it is precisely in America that through the succession of revivals since 1740 the most striking forms of subjective religious experience have most attracted attention. Beginning with G. Stanley Hall (Harvard lectures, 1881), therefore, America has led the way in this new science". "France, however, has followed promptly in her lead. Germany has remained almost unmoved, although it now has its Zeitschrift für Religionspsychologie". He believes that this new departure has

too great predilection for pathological experiences and for appeals to what is subliminal, basing, as he does, largely upon James and Starbuck. Nevertheless he is inclined on the whole to welcome this "new science" even if it is a little "inclined to pluck the fruit before it is ripe". Evidently, however, Dr. Bavinck is somewhat of an epistemologist and misses this element in the new departure.

L'intolleranza e i suoi presupposti, GIOVANNI MARCHESINI. Bocca, Torina, 1909. 266 p.

This work treats of the domination of intolerance over life in the past and in the present, what is presupposed by religious intolerance, the logic on which it rests and by which it works, its relations to personality and to science, its moral and political presuppositions, how it affects church and state, and especially what its relation is to the school and its work.

What we Know about Jesus, by CHARLES F. DOLE. The Open Court Publishing Co., Chicago, 1908. 89 p. (Christianity of To-day Series.)

This author concludes that we know extremely little about the life of Jesus. But very few are His authentic utterances. Thus he is "only a very remarkable torso or at least the fragment of a statue". Thus the slogan: "Back to Jesus" presents enormous difficulties, and those who use it most often have probably never tried to find the actual Jesus. They are like artists who have never glimpsed the original work. Current methods tend to make the portrait harmonious, consistent and ideal and to establish a well-rounded absolute system of doctrine. The author, however, believes that in the story and the sayings, we have "not one perfected person, but dissimilar aspects or sides of a person, Himself in the process of natural development; not one consistent or perfect scheme of doctrine, as if revealed from heaven, but diverse forms of thought." "The language of egoism and self-assertion continually put into Jesus' mouth in accordance with the author's evident conception of a mystical and messianic personage and not a veritable man", are very disturbing. The constant use of the word "I" almost spoils the gospel for scripture reading to a modern congregation. "Moreover, John's Jesus repeatedly assails, provokes, and castigates the leaders of his people. All this portraiture, judged by our highest standards of conduct, is unworthy the highest type of man, not to say a good God. Jesus was a sturdy democrat, eating and drinking at publicans' houses with radical freedom. "It was as if we had a story of Channing or Theodore Parker as seen arm in arm with a liquor dealer. Jesus' associates for the most part are humble people in the social class from which He Himself sprung." The records of Jesus' death leave us in doubt as to whether He died despairing or in hope. His expulsion of the money-changers was as much an act of anarchy as lynch law. His doctrine of forgiveness, seventy times seven, is hard to reconcile with his bitter denunciations, which seem to be harsh and unsympathetic, and the cursing of the fig-tree and the Gadarene swine are unworthy. So is his "Woman, what have I to do with thee?" to His mother at the Cana wedding. The writer hopes Jesus did not court death to be afterwards revered as a martyr, and thinks perhaps He never claimed to be Messiah. He did, however, apparently want to die. His knowledge of Old Testament is, upon critical examination, not very extensive. Thus, in the whole narrative, there is nothing, aside from the wonder stories, "that would leave Him in a lonely uniqueness above the class of the other prophets and teachers of religion". "The fact remains that we can know extremely little of the details of Jesus' life."

Mysterious Psychic Forces, by CAMILLE FLAMMARION. T. Fisher Unwin, London, n. d. 453 p.

For forty years this distinguished astronomer has been experimenting with spiritual mediums of various kinds from Slade and Eglington to Euspasia Paladino. In the oscillations between belief and unbelief he has reached rather a new equilibrium, holding that "there exists in nature a myriad activity, a psychic element, the essential of which is still hidden from us." In a former volume he had concluded that the soul exists as a real entity, independent of the body, is endowed with faculties still unknown to science, and is able to act at a distance. He does not invent a new force like Gasparin's psychode, which cannot emerge from the organism, or like Thury's ectenic force; but his census of more than a thousand letters concerning haunted houses, presentiments, dreams, ghosts, clairvoyants, etc., show that while a majority of people have never experienced them, a very formidable minority have done so.

Die religiöse Erziehung des Menschen im Lichte seiner religiösen Entwicklung, von H. SCHREIBER. Quelle & Meyer, Leipzig, 1908. 244 p.

In the introduction the author ridicules and condemns existing religious instruction in German schools as obsolete and as defeating its own ends. In this department he says the children are supposed to accept miracle upon miracle: animals speak like men, the earth stands still in its course, a whale swallows a man for three days' the dead arise and hold communion with men, fiery chariots transport, God talks with a human voice. Everything is on one surface and that, too, in these days of Wernle, Traube, Jülicher, Weinel, Holzmann, Bassemann, Tröltsch, Niebergall, Baumgarten, Sabatier, to say nothing of two or three generations of enlightened pedagogues. The author then proceeds to develop his own undogmatic mode of teaching religion, which seeks to be thoroughly sensible.

Orpheus, Histoire Générale des Religions, par SALOMON REINACH. 3rd ed. Alcide Picard, Paris, 1909. 625 p.

This is a capital book, comprehensive and judicious though small. It first treats of the origins of religion defining their general phenomena ; then considers the chief features of the religion of the Egyptians, Babylonians and Syrians, Aryans, Hindoos, Persians, Greeks, Romans, Celts, Germans, Slavs, Chinese, Japanese, Mongols, Finns, Africans, Oceanians, Americans, Mussulmans, Hebrews, Israelites, and Jews. Under Christianity, the chief topics treated are origins, the story of the church from St. Paul to Justinian and on to Charles the Fifth, Luther and the Encyclopedists ; and ends with the recent condemnation of modernism by the Pope.

God. By PAUL CARUS. Open Court Publishing Co., Chicago, 1908. 249 p.

This work is divided into three parts ; first the new conception of God based upon studies of mathematics, form, appearance, law, the religious growth, etc. The God of science is not a negation of the old God-belief but it is completion and perfection,— the God of evolution who is always and ever making old things new. Part second deals with theology as a science, discussing its relations to religion, panpathy, the subjectivity of sentiment, personal equation, the will, the intellect, theonomy, the revision of creeds and the end of "furor" theologies. The third part is devoted to further elucidations in discussion and controversy, *e. g.*, Loofs versus Haeckel, W. E. A. Wilkinson, A. Waters, Canon J. G. Lowe, Père Hyacinthe.

The third volume of the Schaff-Herzog Encyclopedia of Religious Knowledge has just been published. So far it appears to fulfill the promises of the prospectus. It seems likely to be a work indispensable to clergymen, libraries, and all students of religion.

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